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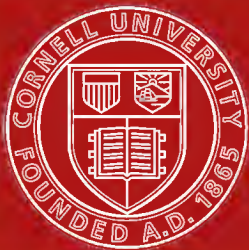
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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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REPORT

ON THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

F. W. LEYBORNE-POPHAM, Esq.

OF

LITTLECOTE, Co. WILTS.

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Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE Littlecote collection includes two quite distinct series of papers, although it has been thought more convenient and also more interesting to arrange them together chronologically. The value of the collection, setting aside certain documents, which will be spoken of later, is mostly departmental, the one series being chiefly concerned with army matters, and the other with naval affairs.

To take the latter first, the Popham papers, properly so called, consist, with a few exceptions, of the correspondence of Colonel Edward Popham, one of the three "Generals at Sea" for the Commonwealth. He was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Francis Popham of Littlecote, and grandson of Sir John, the Lord Chief Justice of the end of Elizabeth's reign.

There are two letters addressed to Sir John Popham in the collection, the first being on the working of the new poor laws, which, from certain expressions in it, would seem to relate to the Act of 1597 rather than to the more noted one of 1601. The other letter is from Balliol College, Oxford, concerning the benefactions to the College of Peter Blundell, the founder of Tiverton grammar school (*pp.* 1, 3). A later letter, relating to Blundell's foundations at Cambridge (*p.* 80), alludes to the fact that Sir John was one of his trustees.

Edward Popham himself was born about 1610, was the captain of the ill-fated *5th Whelp*, cast away in 1637, received his commission as colonel of a regiment of foot (with which he was to march into the West to Sir Thomas Fairfax) in May, 1645 (*p.* 5), and on February 27, 1648-9, was appointed by the Council of State one of the three "Commissioners for ordering and commanding the fleet during the coming year," the other two being Colonels Robert Blake and Richard Deane (*p.* 9).

His elder brother, Colonel Alexander, was an active Parliament man, and a member of the Council of State.

The Admiralty papers of this period are so fully dealt with in the Calendars of State Papers, that large numbers of documents in this collection may be passed over with a mere mention. There are many of the original orders of the Council of State to their Generals at Sea, signed by Bradshaw, as President, but these have mostly been calendared from the copies in the order books. There are also numerous letters from Robert Coytmor, clerk of the Admiralty, and others, concerning the details of Admiralty and Navy routine, which throw no new light on the subject, and are therefore omitted. But there remain many interesting letters, especially those from the Generals themselves, and there are also portions of Col. Edward Popham's journal, which give a good deal of fresh information.

In March, 1649, the fleet put to sea under Col. Popham's command, and sailed westward. His journal (*p.* 11) gives their movements up to April 16, when there is a break in the narrative. A copy of it was probably sent up to London at that date, as a letter from the Council of State on May 1st acknowledges its receipt (*see* Cal. S.P. Dom. *under date*). The later part of the paper (for the journal is on loose sheets, not in book form) takes the fleet to Kinsale, which was reached on the 1st of May. Here it was determined that Blake and Deane should remain to block up Prince Rupert's ships, then in the harbour, while Popham returned to London to report to the Council of State and obtain supplies. The fleet had not only to block Kinsale, but to "keep in the rebels" at Waterford and Wexford, Sir George Ayscue having declared, in response to the Admirals' appeals, that he could send no help from Dublin. In June, the want of victuals was so great that Deane followed Popham back to England, but the latter was now able to announce that he had nearly finished his business, and hoped, before leaving London, to get the constant establishment of the Navy settled, and then they would not hereafter "be so to seek for money" when it was needed. Col. Deane urged him also, if possible, to procure the sending of some considerable force into Munster, in order to gain Kinsale, and to withdraw the enemy from Dublin, then besieged by Ormond. Ayscue had already written from Dublin to the same effect.

Cromwell was, just at this time, setting out for Ireland, and there was some little mystery or uncertainty as to where he



intended to take ship. Coytmor wrote to Popham that he had been obliged to remind the Council of State that the Generals of the fleet must know, in order to provide a convoy (*p.* 20). In the same letter he mentions a report that all the Parliament ships were beaten and sunk, and that Rupert was "triumphant before Dublin, blocking up the place," but no credit was given to these "feigned stories."

A few days later, Sir Henry Vane, having heard from Col. Deane that he must have 2,000*l.* more for victualling, wrote to say that he thought the request very extraordinary, as the estimate was according to the sum given by Col. Popham. Deane showed the letter to Popham, who at once wrote to Vane that his demand had been for money to carry on the work of victualling, but by no means to cover it. "There is not a place in England," he says, "that you can victual in under 1*l.* 5*s.* a man a month . . . for though some things be cheaper in one place than another, yet other things are dearer; if beef be cheap, pork, pease and fish are dearer, and so in other provisions, that there is very little difference of victualling in any place unless we could buy in all places those things which are best cheap, which we have not time to do" (*p.* 22). Coytmor has written, he goes on to say, urging him to step up and perfect the business of the winter guard himself with the Council, but this he cannot understand, as the list is already given in and has been presented to Parliament. "But it is not unusual for Mr. Coytmor to mistake 'winter for summer,'" and he may mean that the Council of State must be reminded about money for the next summer guard, concerning which he will write presently. To this Vane, in evident alarm, replies, "pray let our winter guard be out, and this summer's service first over, before you mention the next summer's fleet, lest we be overwhelmed with the prospect of charge before we be able to overcome it." He fears there will be increased difficulty in finding money "for the 100,000*l.* intended us from Deans' and Chapters' lands we have received as yet but 20,000*l.* of, and now the necessities of Ireland are such that the Council think they shall be forced to put a stop upon the remainder for the present, hoping to provide timely enough for the mariners' wages," wherein, he doubts, they will be slow, unless quickened by Popham in the matter (*p.* 22).

In this same July, 1649, the Navy Commissioners write indignantly to Popham that they hear from the Admiralty Committee (whose letter is amongst the State Papers at the Record Office) that he has intimated a mistake of 11,000*l.* in their estimates. They wonder much why he should apply to the Council without in the least acquainting them with their supposed error, and retort by informing him that they have found his estimate miscast as regards the beer, but took no notice of it, being more desirous to rectify their own errors (if any) than to divulge those of others (*p.* 23). Col. Popham's answer, assuring them that he had only written a private letter to Sir Henry Vane, and did not even know that their committee was concerned in the matter, is amongst the State Papers.

At the end of July, Col. Deane tells his brother commander that he has been to Bristol, to confer with the Lord General, and is now at Plymouth, with more load on his back than he can easily carry. He has heard from Blake, who is still on guard at Kinsale, that Rupert's fleet had all gone back to Kinsale town, and that they only kept five of their best sailors to run away with. Deane fears deceit, and hopes they will be closely watched (*p.* 24). A few days later he complains to Popham that Coytmor evidently opens and reads all their letters to each other, even when they send public despatches at the same time to the Council of State, which conduct he judges "very unfit."

There are many allusions in these papers to the difficulties which the authorities had with the commanders and crews of their vessels. In the first place, they were often dilatory in their preparations, liking well to loiter about London or Portsmouth, instead of making all haste to put to sea. In this July, 1649, Popham had evidently been complaining on this head, for Coytmor assures him that they are to have a sharp check for their neglect, and that two of them have promised to be ready forthwith (*p.* 20). Two or three weeks later, Coytmor prays Popham to write a "sharp letter" to Captain Wilkinson of the *Increase*, who, having boarded two vessels and found them full of arms and ammunition for Scotland, let them go because he had no order to stay Scotch vessels; a proceeding which Coytmor stigmatizes as weakness and folly, if indeed there is not more knavery than folly in it (*p.* 23).

On August 8th, Coytmor sends details of a tumult on the *Tiger*, Captain Peacocke's ship, which is only casually alluded to in the State Papers. Some difference between the ship's master and the boatswain grew to such a height that it raised a mutiny, the common men siding with the boatswain. The Captain called a Council of War, which so inflamed the "brable" that he was forced to take his ship into Yarmouth, where he was in danger every hour that the men would run away with her to the enemy. Captain Coppin was there as a guard, but he was not "considerable" against such a ship as the *Tiger*, and they did not dare to call in the help of the land soldiers, for fear of further inflaming the seamen. Coytmor considered Capt. Peacocke to be in fault, and declared that the quarrel arose in consequence of his having gone ashore to see his wife. Indeed, he held the wives responsible for all the disasters, including the loss of the *Heart* and the possible loss of the *Tiger*. Captain Harrison, for instance, "who was wont to be the most vigilant in writing of all the commanders," had not been heard from for a month, and about a month ago his wife went down to him. If the captains were permitted to have their wives aboard, sore damage to the State would, he believed, assuredly follow (*pp.* 25, 26).

The outbreak on the *Tiger* having been subdued and the ring-leader and principal actors secured on shore, the ship put out to sea again (*p.* 34), but further trouble soon arose, in consequence of the six months' term of service of the merchant ships employed by the State being increased to eight (*pp.* 26, 34), a measure which gave great dissatisfaction both to the captains and their crews. The *Jonas*, Captain Wiltshire, and the *Elizabeth*, Captain Coppin, both refused to stay out any longer, and the State Papers mention the *Dolphin* as doing the same. The *Jonas* was ordered to be paid off, the wages of the ring-leaders suspended, and their persons, if need be, secured. Capt. Wiltshire and six of his men were afterwards ordered to be tried by a Council of War. In the autumn, Capt. Ingle ("one of your mad captains," as Coytmor calls him to Popham), followed suit, declaring that his ship was no winter ship, and that all his victuals were spent (*p.* 44). Captain Holland of the *Falcon* had lately made the same protest and had been discharged.

The ships' commanders were also complained against by the



merchants, but on a different ground, viz., for taking pay for the conveying of their vessels. "It will be very fit," Vane writes to Popham, "you and me have our thought to set down some settled course in this matter" (*p.* 47).

On August 14th, 1649, Col. Popham joined the fleet in the Downs, this time hoisting his flag upon the *Happy Entrance*, perhaps as being commanded by Capt. Badiley (afterwards Rear-Admiral), of whom he had a very high opinion. The narrative of the voyage will be found on *pp.* 26-34. On *p.* 37 is a letter from Popham to Sir Henry Vane, in answer to one of September 12th (*p.* 36), complaining that the Prince's landing in Jersey had not been prevented. Popham defends himself, saying that he had but three ships of any force with him at the time; he is confident, however, that there is not a Holland man-of-war which the Council has given him notice of but he has been aboard of, including, he believes, those very ships before they took in the Prince (*p.* 38). The next report was that the Prince had not yet reached Jersey at all (*p.* 39).

The weather at this time seems to have been very stormy, and Coytmor wrote anxiously to Popham, saying that the sooner he could come away from Guernsey with "the two unruly ships" the better, considering the dangers of the place from the many rocks about the islands and the violence of the tides (*p.* 42).

In Ireland, the weather seems to have rather played the part of a *deus ex machina*, for on August 23 Deane wrote to the Council of State, announcing his arrival at Dublin, and the safe landing of the troops there, after a vain attempt "to recover Munster and the Bay of Kinsale." There was a strong impression abroad at the time that the troops were never intended for Munster at all, in spite of the official statements to that effect. This idea seems to have been unfounded, although it may be questioned whether Lord Inchiquin's sagacity in "purging" the Munster garrisons had not as much to do with the change of plan as the wind had. In any case Cromwell was probably glad enough to have the forces with him. A month later, Col. Deane repeats the assertion that he was intended for the south of Ireland, while defending the Lord Lieutenant's conduct in looking first to the north; and goes on to assure the Council that my Lord and the gentlemen with him were as sensible of the consequence of Kinsale and the ships as they themselves

were, and that four regiments of foot and Ireton with two thousand horse and dragoons were on the point of being sent into Munster when Sir Charles Coote's brother brought news of O'Neill's intentions, whereon the General did not dare to send so large a force southwards, whilst Trim and Drogheda remained in the enemy's hands (*p.* 40).

The criticisms on Cromwell at this time read rather like an inverted version of the proceedings of 1599, when Essex was so severely blamed for not taking Ulster in hand before turning towards the south.

In this same September, Blake tells Popham of Cromwell's offer to him "with much affection" of the Major Generalship of the foot, praying his friend to prevent its coming before Parliament if he can, as he does not wish to waive any resolution of the House, and yet cannot accept it (*p.* 38).

There are a few other notices of the struggle in Ireland—Coytmor's announcement to Sir George Ayscue of the "good news" of the taking of Drogheda (*p.* 43); a list of the garrison there, differing somewhat from those already printed; an account of a "shrewd dispute" of Venables with Lord Montgomery of Ards and Col. Mark Trevor, whereby "the whole forces of the Lord of Ards and that party are quite defunct" (*p.* 45), and of the fight near Arklow Castle, when three thousand of the enemy betook themselves to a bog, and were there all cut off and slain (*pp.* 44, 45); and an interesting letter from Col. Deane upon the taking of Wexford, in which he states that he came to the Bar on the 29th of September, but for seven days it blew so hard that they could land nothing, and in which also he emphasizes the desire of Cromwell to induce the Governor to surrender, and so to save the town (*p.* 47). See also letters on *pp.* 50, 57.

In the proceedings of the Council of State, September 25, 1649 (*see* Cal. S.P. Dom. *of that date*), there is a reference to the Admiralty Committee of a letter from Ipswich, concerning the exchange of prisoners, and of one from Luke Whittington, the Royalist agent at Dunkirk, but the letters themselves are not amongst the State Papers. Copies of them, however, are in this collection, and some others on the same subject, notably one from the cavalier Captain Amy, declaring that some of his

men, the King's loving subjects, are in prison in Dover, with "the large allowance of one whole penny a day, besides other usage correspondent thereto, things more becoming Turks than Christians"; that he sees plainly that the destruction of the King's party is the thing aimed at; but that they shall soon see how dexterously he will imitate their barbarous cruelty, when he will as little regard the murdering of a rebel as they do the starving of a loyal subject (*pp.* 39, 40). Meanwhile, the poor "rebels" were shut up in some old colliers under the fort of Mardyke, kept in irons, and fed only on bread and water (*p.* 43). Capt. Coppin, of the *Greyhound*, offered to go and free them, and the Council of State gave orders to Sir George Ayscue to look after the matter (*p.* 45. *See also* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50, *p.* 323).

In November, 1649, Rupert escaped from Kinsale and took refuge at Lisbon. Col. Blake and his fleet were despatched after him, and in May, 1650, Col. Popham followed with eight more ships, reaching Cascaes Bay on the 26th (*p.* 65). The Generals wrote to the King of Portugal, but his answer was so "dilusory or at least dilatory," that they sent Charles Vane, the Parliament agent at Lisbon, to England, to report matters to the Council. Rumours by and by reached the Generals that King John was making ready to fight them, and on July 21 some of his ships and some of Rupert's came down into the Bay of Oeiras, but at this point the journal abruptly ends.

The Report on the Portland MSS., Vol. 1, however, contains some very good letters from the Generals at Sea written at this time, and one of these relates that on July 26, Prince Rupert, "after long preparation and much noise," came forth of the Bay, but the vigilance of the Admirals kept him from getting past them, and he evidently had no mind to fight them, and so, after two days, to the great grief of their hearts, he put back into Lisbon.

From the first, the leaders seem to have felt that they were upon a bootless errand, for the very day after he joined Blake, Popham wrote to his wife that they had very little hope of gaining Rupert's ships, the King of Portugal having taken them into his protection, from whom there was no possibility of getting them (*p.* 74).



The last of Col. Popham's narratives (*p.* 83) describes the movements of the fleet under his command from April 1st to August 7th, 1651, the time being spent in cruising about, convoying merchant ships, arranging for the exchange of prisoners in Jersey and elsewhere, watching the coasts of Holland, clearing off pickaroons, and keeping a look-out for the enemy's ships.

In May, the fleet was off Dunkirk, and the Governor sent to ask whether they came as friends or foes to France. Popham replied that he came with no hostile intentions towards either the Governor or the place which he commanded, unless provoked to it; but, in his draft letter, he goes on to express astonishment that "a pretending King without a kingdom" has been allowed by his agents to seize a power in the ports of the King of France. "Some of his predecessors," he continues, "have pretended a title to the Crown of France . . . but it is not, I suppose, under that notion you permit him to do it." This passage is, however, cancelled (*pp.* 87, 100).

At the end of June the fleet was ordered to Berwick, and thence to the Sound, to look for the Swedish fleet, but at Newcastle Popham was summoned back by the Council of State, and the journal ends in Dover Road on August 7th. He makes no allusion to his health, either here or in a letter written a day or two later to the Council of State, but within a fortnight, on August 19th, he died of fever, either on ship-board or in Dover town. His death in the prime of life—for he cannot have been much, if at all, over forty years of age—was a distinct loss to the State, and the Council sent condolences to his widow, with an assurance of their sense of his services.

The last document belonging to the Popham papers proper calendared in this collection is a letter from Thomas Gage (*p.* 101), brother of the Sir Henry who distinguished himself on the Royalist side by his relief of Basing. Born of an old Roman Catholic family, he became a monk of the order of St. Dominic, went as a missionary to South America, lived for many years amongst the Indians, and after twenty-four years' absence returned to England, left the Church of Rome and joined the Parliament party. He was chaplain to Venables' expedition in 1655, and died in Jamaica soon afterwards.

The second division of this collection—the Clarke papers—forms a part of the great collection of Sir William Clarke and his son George—the bulk of which was bequeathed by Dr. G. Clarke to Worcester College library on his death in 1736.

Why this part of the collection was not deposited with the rest can only be matter of surmise, but as regards the main portion—the letters of 1659 and 1660, which are here in great numbers, while the same period is correspondingly poor in the Worcester College collection, it seems a plausible suggestion that there may have been some intention to use them as materials for a history of the Restoration, perhaps in answer to the “Narrative” here printed, to which reference will be made later.

How they got amongst the Littlecote papers can also only be conjectured, but a little dim light is thrown upon the matter by a scrap of paper, endorsed by a Miss Eliza Taylor, daughter of the Rev. Zachary Taylor, “My father’s account how manuscripts came into our hands.” The memorandum is as follows: “These original manuscripts were formerly in the possession of Admiral Russell, King William’s admiral when he invaded England, and afterwards Lord Torrington. Upon his death they fell into the hands of Dr. George Clarke, his secretary and executor, who was afterwards secretary to Prince George of Denmark, and fellow of All Souls’, Oxford, and member for the University till his death, when they fell into the hands of Dr. Robert Shippen, Principal of Brasenose, who was Dr. Clarke’s executor. At his death they fell to Dr. Robert Leyborne, his nephew, and from him to the Rev. Mr. Taylor, heir to him in right of his wife.” This note is of course not accurate. It was not Admiral Russell, but Admiral Herbert who commanded the Dutch fleet in 1688, and who was afterwards created Lord Torrington, and there is no reason to believe that Dr. Clarke ever acted as his secretary. Even supposing the allusion to be merely to Clarke’s secretaryship to the Admiralty, he only held that post under Prince George of Denmark, from 1702 to 1705, whereas Torrington’s short rule at the Admiralty terminated in January, 1690. Nor could Clarke have been “previously” executor to the Earl, who did not die until 1716. He was one of the four executors, however, and as such,

no doubt, the group of Torrington letters now at the British Museum (*see p. 31 of this introduction*) fell into his hands. To these, the memorandum in question evidently refers.

But it is probable that the final statements of the note are correct, and applicable to all the Clarke papers in Mr. Leyborne-Popham's collection, there being little doubt that on Dr. Clarke's death they passed to Dr. R. Shippen, his executor, and thence, by way of the Leybornes and Taylors, reached Littlecote.

As regards Sir William Clarke's own life, there is little information to be added to that given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Mr. Firth's prefaces to the *Clarke Papers*. His parentage is still unrevealed, but he had a brother Jacob, who in 1652 was at a school kept by one Mr. Andrews, and winning "great commendations from his master," and a sister Betty, who at this same date had "gotten a husband"; the young couple being in too great a hurry to get married to wait until the consent of the brother, then absent in Scotland, could be obtained (*p. 103*). The letter is written by one Simon Browne, who seems to have had something to do with the management of William Clarke's affairs. The latter had a house in St. Martin's Lane (which he let to Major Husbands), some rents at Rotherhithe and property at St. John's Wood in Paddington and Marylebone parishes. St. John's Wood and Marylebone Park were Crown lands, part of which appears to have been in Clarke's hands during the Commonwealth, and which was granted or re-granted to him after the Restoration "as a Coldstreamer" (*pp. 102, 103, 194*). His rights here were interfered with by a relative, one John Collins, of whom more hereafter.

But although little light is thrown upon William Clarke's own family, a good deal can be learnt about that of his wife, Dorothy Hilyard, daughter of Thomas Hilyard and Elizabeth (Kympton), his wife, of Hampshire.

In a document to which attention will be drawn presently, Dr. George Clarke states that, as his mother informed him, her parents were forced to leave their Hampshire home to avoid paying a fine of 10,000*l.* laid upon his grandfather "by the Star Chamber or High Commission Court for some words which a

malicious neighbour of his swore he had spoke of Archbishop Laud," but which his grandfather always denied. "It seems," continues Dr. Clarke, "my grandfather had the saltpetre farm, and some of his servants, when he was at London, dug up this neighbour's dove-house, which so exasperated him that he made the information above mentioned" (*p.* 269).

The fact that the accusations against Hilyard were made three years before Laud went to Canterbury need not be emphasized, as Clarke might naturally use his later title, but the reports found amongst the State Papers give a very different colouring to the offence.

On April 30, 1630, Sir William Russel, Sir John Wolstenholme, and Sir Kenelm Digby (Commissioners of Customs), presented a report to the Lords of the Admiralty upon their hearing of the complaints made against Thomas Hilyard and one Stevens, his partner, who held the "saltpetre farm" in Hampshire. They found it proved that the defendants had exceeded their powers in every direction, "as in digging in all places without distinction," in threshing and malting floors, in dove-houses during breeding time, in parlours and chambers, "yea, even God's House they have not forborne"; by the bedside of women in childbed, the sick and the dying, "with so much barbarous cruelty to their persons and their goods, and with so base and uncivil language as is hard to be believed any could have done that professed themselves Christians."\*

After this tremendous indictment, it is not to be wondered at that the case was taken up to the Star Chamber. There it lingered on for two or three years, but on February 5, 1633-4, the decree was given against Hilyard, his wife Elizabeth, and two subordinates, Stevens' name having somehow dropped out. Hilyard's sentence was pillory, imprisonment during pleasure, and a fine, the amount of which gave rise to considerable diversity of opinion, Cottington voting for 2,000*l.*, Windebank for 5,000*l.*, Laud (now Archbishop) for 10,000*l.*

It might be suggested that this lends support to the assertion that the real crime was the words against the Archbishop, but no one who has studied Laud's character can fail to acknowledge that however much his anger might be kindled by insult to

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\* See Cal. S.P. Dom., 1629-1631. Also Mr. Bruce's preface to that volume, *p.* xxviii.

himself, or rather to his office, it would burn far more hotly against those who desecrated the house of God, or disturbed the solemn last hours of the dying.

The fine was eventually set at 5,000*l.*, whereas the grandson states it as 10,000*l.* Possibly he was thinking of Laud's proposal, possibly also the pillory and imprisonment were commuted for a further money payment. Hilyard appears, however, to have evaded his punishment by changing his name and flying to the north, although, Dr. Clarke says, his estate, being thereby left to servants, suffered so much that he had better have paid two such fines than have abandoned it. The State Papers of 1630-1633 contain many papers on the subject, informations, petitions from Hilyard, &c., but there is not the least hint of any connection of Laud with the affair. The original information was laid by one Thos. Bond, but "the insolence of the saltpetre men," as Mr. Bruce calls it, was a crying evil of the day. Rather curiously, Hilyard's wife Elizabeth was associated with him in the case in the Star Chamber, perhaps as being an heiress, and so able to help in the payment of the fine.

Besides Dorothy, who was their youngest child, the Hilyards had a son, Kympton Hilyard, and another daughter married to Gilbert Mabbott, the printer, and licenser of the press until May, 1649, when he was discharged for having licensed the "*Agreement of the people*," the "*Moderate*," and other "dangerous books." These two men always address William Clarke as "brother." There appears, moreover, to have been a third daughter, married to William Carey, goldsmith of London, for he is not only brother to Clarke, but to Mabbott, and must therefore have been on the Hilyard, not the Clarke side of the house. There are also cousins, Stareshmore, Sharwen and Sherman, but how related does not appear, and there are several allusions to a family named Mosse. "Mother Mosse" may perhaps have been William Clarke's foster-mother, for she writes to him (in a very illiterate fashion) as her "dear heart," longs to see him more than anything upon earth, is sure that he has not his fellow in England, and signs herself his "humble servant and mother." Her husband, although not in the army, had some connexion with it, and was taken prisoner by the Royalist party in Scotland, whereupon she petitioned the young

King and the Duke of Buckingham for his exchange. The drafts of these petitions, written by Clarke, speak of the happy day of the King's coronation and of the beginning of his sacred Majesty's "gracious and auspicious reign," sentiments that come curiously from the pen of one "attending the Lord General Cromwell," and which are actually written upon the same sheet as one of the General's proclamations (*p.* 81). Mother Mosse was evidently a very practical old lady, for she tells Clarke with much satisfaction that his brother Cary has a mind to take a house in the Strand, where his wife "may learn his trade to buy and sell," and so be safe in the future, for "there is no happiness in this world without riches, that makes content and love and all things (*p.* 106).

In addition to the correspondence, the Clarke MSS. in the Littlecote collection include two rather bulky documents, both of much interest. One is a narrative of the Restoration, the other an autobiography of Dr. George Clarke. It may perhaps be as well, although their dates place them near the end of the volume, to notice them here, as both have more or less bearing upon the Clarke family.

The Narrative (*p.* 198) is not signed, but two points help at once towards an identification of the writer. He was William Clarke's uncle, and he had a house at Stanmore. By a fortunate accident, a letter has been preserved, written by one Margaret Collins, and dated at Stanmore, offering congratulations to her cousin, Sir William Clarke, upon his knighthood, and mentioning her father (*p.* 188). Presumably, therefore, the author of the Narrative was a Mr. Collins, of Stanmore. He was also pretty certainly the Collins who interfered with Clarke's property in Paddington or St. John's Wood, to the great annoyance of the brothers-in-law, one of whom complained of Collins' "devilish" conduct towards the tenant there, and lamented Clarke's "extraordinary bewitched indulgence to that worst and most cursed of families" (*p.* 103). At any rate, he speaks of having a farm there, which he had to give up to Lord Arlington (*p.* 239), and therefore is the man mentioned in connexion with the petition of Arlington—or Sir Henry Bennet, as he then was—for the estate (*p.* 194).

Furthermore, he had a son, whom he sent to Monk in Scotland (*p.* 206), and afterwards to the King at Breda, and who,

therefore, can be clearly identified with the John Collins, whose petition is amongst the State Papers. (*See* Cal. S.P. Dom., 1660-1, *p.* 245.)

In the course of the Narrative itself, certain incidental statements occur. The writer had known well the baker to the Inner Temple (*p.* 209). He introduced to Monk a gentleman of the Inner Temple (*p.* 213); and when in London, he lodged at the Temple, and there "in the lane" merrily drank the health of the King upon his knees (*p.* 220). Moreover, he counted as his friends two former Masters, or as they were then often called, "preachers" of the Temple (*p.* 233), and last but not least, he speaks of the musicians of the Temple as being brought in to serve there by himself (*p.* 223).

The inference appears to be that he had some close connexion with the Temple, and that it was rather that of an official than of a bencher. Whatever it was, he had given it up, and was now living at Stanmore. A reference to the registers of the Inner Temple shows that one John Collins was successively chief butler and steward there up to the year 1656 (when the latter office was taken up by another man), and the probability is that he was the author of the Narrative. His son, mentioned above, who practised at the Chancery Bar before Lord Chancellor Hyde (*p.* 238), may perhaps be the John Collins admitted to the Inner Temple in this same year, 1656.

The Narrative is the work of a foolish man, but there is much in it that is interesting, and its frank conceit is amusing. It is primarily an attack upon the *Continuation* of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle (professedly written by Ed. Phillips, but probably inspired by Dr. Clarges), and upon the view that "Monk was he that did bring in the King." It is preceded by a sketch of the argument in doggerel verse. According to Mr. Collins, he himself was the man that did bring in the King, it "pleasing the Lord to put it into his mind" to argue with the General in such solemn and convincing fashion that Monk was always much "touched," or "moved," or "troubled," and usually ended by praying his mentor to tell him what he ought to do. The narrator pictures himself as hurrying about from Speaker to General, from General to City, from City back to General, until he gradually brought everybody into a right frame of mind, and the Restoration was happily accomplished.

Not the least amusing feature is the violence with which he rebuts the idea of Dr. Clarges having done not a tenth part of what he professes to have done himself. It is absurd (according to him) to suppose the General to have been influenced by Clarges, but by no means absurd to believe him to have been guided by Collins.

In spite, however, of the vanity of the narrator, there is, as before said, much of interest in the narrative, and a good deal to be learnt from it as regards Monk, and his relations with the Speaker, the City, and the Parliament.

The attitude of the General's lady is rather humorously described; her anxiety to get possession of Hampton Court (*p.* 226); her suddenly developed Royalist proclivities when she found the Restoration inevitable; her energy in preparing Whitehall for the King (while with equal energy she emptied his fishponds for her own use); her ostentatious setting of her maids to work in public at the embroidery of hangings for the King's bed, and her perturbation concerning the return of the King's old friends, lest her husband should be put in the background by those who had borne the toil and heat of the day (*pp.* 229, 230).

There are a good many scraps of information, too, about the doings in the City, and the gradually awakening loyalty there, as shown at the banquets given to Monk and his officers, where the Temple musicians were told they must give up their "usual old songs" and get others more suitable to the occasion, and where, as the Royalist tone became more pronounced, a masque was performed, in which Monk was represented as St. George, and was assured, "We'll celebrate your name for ever after, if you'll restore the King, as he'd the daughter" (*p.* 223).

The other lengthy manuscript contained in this collection lifts the reader into a very different atmosphere. In perfectly simple fashion, and with unaffected modesty, Dr. George Clarke tells us the history of his long and useful life, from the time when, as a little child, he tumbled out of a coach, his legs luckily falling into a hole in the road (in the middle of Whitehall!), so big that the carriage wheels passed harmlessly over them (*p.* 259). He must have been a loveable child, to judge by the affectionate gratitude with which, a lifetime afterwards, the friends of his childhood were remembered. As a small boy,



he went to a school kept by one Mr. Andrews, who, though a Papist, took good care that the faith of his Protestant pupils should not be tampered with. At ten years old, his school life was brought to an end by an attack of small-pox, and from this time his education was undertaken by his stepfather, Dr. Barrowe (Milton's friend), of whom he writes with the utmost love and reverence.

In July, 1676, he entered himself at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in the following year, "spoke verses" in the theatre, and won the first square cap ever worn by a commoner. After taking his degree, he intended to read for the Bar, but his views altered in 1680, when, at the time of the changes in All Souls' College, caused by Archbishop Sancroft's action, he obtained a fellowship there, which he held to the end of his life. In March, 1681-2, he was appointed Judge-Advocate of the army, *vice* his stepfather, who resigned in his favour; but, "there being hardly any land forces in England but horse and foot guards," there were not many occasions for courts martial (*p.* 262). When down at Plymouth, in 1684, he went to St. Nicholas' island, where Major-General Lambert had been imprisoned, and relates what he heard concerning his death. "He always loved gardening, and took a delight, during his confinement, to work in a little garden there. One day, as he was at work, some gentlemen came in a boat to see the island, and the Major-General went in to change his nightgown, that he might wait upon the company in a more decent dress, and caught a cold that brought him to his grave" (*p.* 263).

Upon King Charles' death, King James renewed Dr. Clarke's patent and increased his salary. He wished to go down into the west with the army marching against Monmouth, but was delayed by the King, and only arrived after the capture of the Duke. He seems to have taken no part in the terrible after scenes there, for he merely says that he went to the Bath, and to see his mother, and then hurried back to London to the trial of "some of the soldiers of the regiments that came from Holland, and had declared that they would be for the black Jemmy against the white" (*p.* 263).

On Sir Leoline Jenkins' death, he became member for Oxford University, defeating Dr. Oldys by seventy-nine votes; but before he reached town, Parliament was prorogued. On his return to

Oxford, Obadiah Walker, the Papist head of University College, threatening that the "three questions" should shortly be put to him, he thought it wiser to absent himself for a time, and went to visit the Dean of Gloucester, the Bishop of Bristol, and other friends. In company with the warden of his College, Dr. Finch, son of Lord Winchilsea, he went to Longleat, where Lord Weymouth showed them the *Character of a Trimmer*. "and," says Dr. Clarke, "Sir William Coventry was named for the author of it, but after the Revolution, George, Marquis of Halifax, told me he had written it" (p. 264).

In 1687 occurred King James' celebrated visit to Oxford. Anthony à Wood mentions his Majesty's speech to Clarke about All Souls' College, but the doctor's own account is much more amusing. The King having told him that they held their lands by praying for souls, he "endeavoured to set his Majesty right" by assuring him that there was no such thing in their charter. The King retorted that he had it from their visitor, Archbishop Sheldon, who ought to know, and Clarke at this point had wisdom enough not to argue the matter any further, being indeed told afterwards that he was "but an ill-courtier" for going so far (p. 265).

He goes on to describe the "second chiding" given to the fellows of Magdalen by the King, who put himself into so great a passion that he faltered in his speech, while Lord Sunderland stood by his elbow "with much sedate malice in his face." As the gentlemen of Magdalen were leaving the room, he heard Charnock say to them, "Come, let's obey the King, let's obey the King," upon which Mr. Wilkes turned about and told him with a good deal of firmness, "Mr. Charnock, we must obey God before the King" (p. 266). Clarke regrets that his old friend, Dr. Parker, accepted the Presidentship of Magdalen from the King's hand, "but he was a man of ambition."

When Dr. Cartwright, the Bishop of Chester, "who had shown great complaisance to Dr. Leybourne, the King's bishop, as he called him," came to Oxford as commissioner for Magdalen, he asked Clarke why the gentlemen of the Church of England were so averse from complying with the King, who meant to give them a better security than the Test and Penal laws, saying, "Would not anyone who has a bond part with it for a judgment?" to which Lord Chief Justice Wright rejoined, "My Lord, the

Church of England has a statute, which is better than a judgment, and would anyone part with a better security for a worse?" (*p.* 266).

Dr. Clarke was at the court-martial upon the Portsmouth officers, who refused to take Papists into their regiments, and waited on the King with their answer. "I can never forget, he says, "the concern he was in, which showed itself by a dejection rather than anger; indeed at that time he began to be apprehensive of the Prince of Orange's design, so that the change which appeared in him is not to be wondered at" (*p.* 267).

Perhaps the most graphic part of the whole narrative is the account of what happened after the landing of the Prince, when Clarke, going westward, met the King and the army marching back, and was an eye-witness of the confusion of the court and the bewilderment of James, who knew not whom to trust, for "everybody in this hurly-burly was thinking of himself, and nobody minded the King." When the news spread that the Prince of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond had deserted him, Lord Lichfield remarked with a sigh, "Poor man, they will leave him so fast, they will not give him time to make terms" (*p.* 268).

In the summer of 1689, Clarke went down to the north with the Commissioners of the army, and was in Edinburgh when the Castle surrendered to Sir John Lanier.

The following year, he accompanied King William to Ireland, and was present at the battle of the Boyne. He was much struck by the little notice which the King took of "that very great man" the Duke of Schonberg. All his trust was in his Dutch officers, and Schonberg was not even consulted about the line of march. Clarke believed that the veteran General felt this so much that it made him reckless and desirous of death. He was killed quite early in the battle. The King "did not seem to be concerned," but just at that time he was in great anxiety for his Blue Guards, who were in danger from a body of Irish horse. Clarke, who was near him, heard him say softly to himself, "My poor guards, my poor guards," but when he saw them stand their ground and force back the horse in disorder, he drew a long breath, and said his guards had done what he never saw foot

do before in his life. Clarke says nothing could have been more fortunate for the English army than King James' carrying off, to act as his convoy, the French frigates which, fresh from their victory at Beachy Head, had been intended to scour St. George's Channel, intercept provisions and cut off correspondence with England (*p.* 274).

After the battle of the Boyne, Clarke remained in Ireland at the King's request "to help Count Solms," and was with the latter until he left for England, just before the surrender of Cork, at the siege of which place the gallant Duke of Grafton (son of Charles II.) lost his life. Lord Inchiquin, who had the perusing of his papers after his death, found amongst them a most kind letter from King William to him "upon occasion of his behaviour in the sea fight off Beachy, where he acted only as private captain, though before the Revolution . . . he had been vice or rear-Admiral of England" (*p.* 277). If he had lived, Clarke thinks it very probable that he would have made a great name in naval affairs.

Many details are given of the doings of the English troops in Ireland, the most interesting being the notice of the siege and surrender of Limerick. "It may appear very strange," he remarks, "that a numerous garrison, not pressed by any want, should give up a town which nobody was in a condition to take from them, at a time when those who lay before it had actually drawn off their cannon and were preparing to march away, and when that garrison did every day expect a squadron of ships to come to their relief." The explanation was, he believed, that Sarsfield wished to get away, as he reckoned upon making himself considerable in France by taking over there such a large body of troops (*p.* 281).

On December 5, 1691, Dr. Clarke left Ireland, in company with General Ginckle, and after this, during King William's absence abroad, was, as secretary of war, much in attendance upon the Queen, until "she was snatched away from a nation that did not deserve such a blessing as to be governed by her" (*p.* 282).

Upon Queen Anne's accession, he became secretary to Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, until by his opposition to the Court candidate for the Speaker's chair in 1705, he lost his office, from which time he absented himself altogether from

the Court until 1711, when he went up to return thanks to the Queen, who had put him into the Commission of the Admiralty without his knowledge.

Meanwhile, he had built himself the house adjoining All Souls', which he bequeathed to the College for the warden's lodgings, and having now also disposed of his place of Judge-Advocate to Mr. Byde (the purchaser of Ware Park from the Fanshaws) he removed all his books and goods to Oxford, and there "enjoyed, thank God, a great deal of quiet for many years" (*pp.* 283, 284).

In 1710, Lord Rochester died, much lamented by Dr. Clarke, who believed that, had he lived, the last years of Queen Anne's reign would have passed more to her own and her people's satisfaction, and things have taken a different turn (*p.* 285). On Lord Hyde's going up to the House of Lords, Clarke succeeded him as member for Launceston, but upon Sir William Whitlock's death in 1717, he was again chosen for his University, and retained his seat there until his death.

The last pages of the chronicle are mostly taken up with recording the loss of one valued friend after another. "Among many inconveniences of age," he sadly remarks, "the outliving friends is not the least grievous; it is a taking away of comfort and assistance at a time when one most needs them, and at this time of life new friendships are not easily made" (*p.* 287). One wonders if the lonely old bachelor never regretted his determination not to marry, "because he did not understand women."

The autobiography closes with the writer's election for the fifth time to represent his University in 1734, an honour which he was very unwilling to receive, for old age and failing sight were rendering him unfit to attend his duty in Parliament, and were making his life, as he pathetically says, "very uncomfortable." "Pray God," he concludes, "prepare and fit me for another."

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The earlier letters and papers in the Clarke portion of this collection, dated from 1648 to September, 1659, include many individual papers of interest, but are as a whole much less valuable than the later ones, as might be expected from the fulness of the Worcester College collection of that period;

selections from which have been printed by Mr. Firth in his *Clarke Papers, Scotland during the Commonwealth, and Scotland during the Protectorate*. The letters of Captain Ingram and Thomas Margetts (*p.* 6) have already been printed by Mr. Firth. There is an interesting account by Colonel Rainborowe of the siege of Pontefract, and the animosity of Sir Henry Cholmley to Fairfax, whose orders he flatly refused to obey, declaring that his Excellency had nothing to do with them or they with him (*p.* 7). Robert Spavin, Cromwell's secretary (who was afterwards dismissed and punished for selling passes and protections), writes to the same effect.

On *p.* 9, is one of the few letters written from the Royalist point of view. It describes the state of Charles' Court at the time when Montrose, and also Lanerick and Loudon were there, and at daggers drawn with each other. "To sum up all," the writer says, "our King hath as hard a game to play as our poor prince had; his counsellors but few, and they hated by most, his court but little, and yet full of factions, and these increased by the quarrels of the Scots lords."

The complaints of the Hampshire folk against the soldiers and the account of the Diggers on St. George's Hill (*p.* 14) have been printed by Mr. Firth. On *p.* 14 also, is a letter from Col. Poyer (the victim selected by lot for execution after what is generally known as Laugharne's rebellion in Wales), defending his conduct and pleading for mercy. The plea, however, was not accepted, and he was shot in the Piazza of Covent Garden on April 25, 1649. Clarke notices that "it is observable that the lot should fall upon him, who was the first beginner of the second war."

After this there is a break in the series of Clarke letters, the next being dated in November, when Col. John Pyne wrote complaining of the spread of John Lilburne's opinions, and the difficulty of getting pay for the soldiers (now that all the sequestration moneys were ordered to be sent straight up to Goldsmiths' Hall, and the County Committees left without funds), so that the men were discontented and apt to turn Levellers, and "the old deceitful interest under the notion of the Presbyterian party" began to practise their old designs (*p.* 51).

Two letters from Coventry give a curious picture of some of the wild fanatics of the time (*pp.* 57, 59).

In the spring of 1650, men's eyes were all turned towards Scotland, where the young King was daily expected. Col. Duckenfield strongly urged the desirability of promptly despatching the army northwards, and fighting the Scots before their harvest supplied them with money, and in May, Lieut.-Col. Hobson wondered much at the army's not marching, especially now that the agreement between the King and Scots was confirmed. Many of the old Royalists, he says, are quite taken off by it from siding with the King, and some, lately come to Newcastle, who were with Montrose, tell of their sad usage by the Presbyterians, saying moreover that the heart of Montrose was broken before the fight in the very thoughts that the King and Scots would agree; that Charles the Second had thereby as much betrayed the interests of the Royalists as any sectary in England, "and that 'twas as lawful to fight for a jack in a box as for a King locked in a Scots saddle." In a postscript he notes that Montrose's execution is being hurried on before they can hear from the King, and he ends by lamenting that the "honest party" in England and Scotland should fight each other on the quarrel of him that would destroy both (*p.* 73).

In November, Joseph Frost (son of Gualter Frost, the old Clerk of the Council) writes ascribing the premature death of the Prince of Orange to his having "espoused the quarrel of that wicked Scottish family," and speaks of his poor young widow as "left big with child, and laden with that often imprecation of her father—God so deal by me and mine, &c." (*p.* 78). Five days before this letter was written, on November 4, O.S., her nineteenth birthday, the Princess had given birth to the son who was afterwards to turn his mother's brother from his throne.

In this same November, 1650, Margetts and Rushworth sent Clarke various letters on passing occurrences; the doings of the ranters, whom truly the reports render "stark mad"; the "subscription" getting up approving the King's death; the alarm caused by the intelligence of the rising in Norfolk and Suffolk, &c. (*pp.* 77-79).

On *p.* 105 is the only letter of Cromwell's (except a very short note on *p.* 13) contained in this volume, written to Colonel Robert Lilburne, concerning the allowance of

travelling money to the disbanded soldiers in Scotland, the sending of the train horses and of moneys thither, and the "reducing" of one of the quartermasters of the draught horses. The answer to this letter is printed in "*Scotland and the Commonwealth*."

The report of the proceedings before the Committee of Plundered Ministers in the case of Mr. Erbury, accused of blasphemous speeches and false teaching, has already been printed by Mr. Firth in the "*Clarke Papers, Vol. II.*"

One of Clarke's cousins, Thos. Sherman, was in 1653-4 quartered in the Lewis, at Loch Stornaway, whence he writes three or four letters, which have some interest in relation to Clarke's family affairs, and to the movements of Lord Seaforth and his Highlanders (*pp.* 107-109).

On *p.* 112 is a curious account of a female soldier.

In March, 1659, there occurred the quarrel between Whalley and Ashfield, which is mentioned by Ludlow, and caused a serious division amongst the officers of the army. Lieut.-Col. Gough, who was with Ashfield at the time, sent an account of it to Clarke, and a little later Ashfield wrote himself on the subject (*pp.* 114, 115).

Towards the end of April, the army demanded that the Parliament should be dissolved. Richard was obliged to yield—bargaining, however, that he should not be compelled to dismiss it in person—and on the 22nd the proclamation was issued and the doors were locked. "The fourth estate," as Lord Falkland had prophesied to his fellow-members, had turned them out of doors. This, however, was by no means the view which the officers themselves wished to have taken of the affair, and on the 23rd Fleetwood wrote to Monk, saying that he feared the late action of the army might be misrepresented to him, as if they had forced the Parliament, whereas "his Highness by his own authority did dissolve them, in which the army did stand by his Highness."

Of the rapidly succeeding events—the retirement of Richard, the recall of the Long Parliament, &c.—these papers have nothing to say, but there is a letter from Wariston, then President of the Council of State, written in July, describing the throng of business consequent upon the expected rising of the Royalists (*p.* 118), and an account of the meeting of Lambert's



officers at Derby—after the suppression of Booth's insurrections—to draw up the petition, or, one might rather say, to formulate the demands, which they intended to send up to the House (*p.* 122).

The refusal of Parliament to accede to the demands of Lambert's army led, as is well known, to a new rupture; Lambert and Desborough were dismissed, the former marched to London and was joined by the troops sent out to oppose him, the Parliament ceased to sit, and once more the power rested with the Council of officers at Wallingford House.

Then Monk for the first time made a sign, and called upon his Scottish army to rally round him in defence of the Parliament.

From this point the Littlecote papers become of great importance, supplying much information that can be found nowhere else concerning Monk's dealings with his own army in Scotland and the measures taken by him to suppress opposition in the English army after he reached London.

At the end of October he sent round a declaration of fidelity to Parliament and to himself, to be signed by the various regiments, together with copies of his three letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall. His army was devoted to him, and for the most part accepted the declaration without demur (see Colonel Man's letter from Scone, *p.* 125), but probably many of the officers in their hearts felt what Captain Scrape, an old officer of the Commonwealth, who had fought in Essex's horse regiment at the first battle of Newbury, dared to say. "Indeed, my Lord," he wrote to Monk on November 14, "it is so sad to me when I do think upon it that my heart is almost overwhelmed within me, that we which have prayed together, took counsel together, fought together, obtained victories together, and rejoiced so often together, I say that we, which have been thus together, should be anywise provoked each against other so high to engage one another's heads and hands for the fighting one against another to the destroying of each other, which, through God's mercy, the common enemy was not ever permitted to do" (*p.* 126).

At Ayr the officers of Col. Sawrey's regiment apparently retracted upon more mature consideration the consent which they had previously given, and Major Robson fears that so

many of them "will not be free to act in this good and considerable business," that if they resign, some companies will not have one commissioned officer left them, although the companies themselves are fully satisfied (*p.* 127). In consequence of the non-acceptance of Monk's terms by the senior officers, Robson himself was just at this time made colonel of the regiment.

There was now great alarm at Wallingford House. Lambert was appointed commander in the north of England, and commissioners were sent to Monk, who, however, resolved to despatch three agents of his own to London. Instead of carrying out Monk's instructions, his commissioners hurriedly concluded a treaty with the Committee of Safety, in which they went so far beyond their instructions that the General and his officers refused to ratify it (*p.* 131). Before, however, he could possibly have had time to hear what had happened, Monk wrote his celebrated letter to the Lord Mayor, which created such indignation that the bearers, Colonels Atkins and Markham, were at once put under arrest. Negotiations were set on foot in the north for a fresh treaty, and instructions, public and private, were given by Monk to a fresh set of commissioners (*pp.* 128, 129). It is not clear whether the private instructions were drawn up for them or for the former ones, but probably they were much the same in each case. One point greatly emphasized in them is that the members of the new Parliament, if called, are "to indent with the sheriff against Charles Stewart and any other single person whatever," shewing that if Monk had at this time no intention of restoring the King, he also had no intention of setting himself up as head of the government.

The Council of officers in London had at last resolved that a new Parliament should be called, and that it should consist of two houses. On December 24, Col. Atkins wrote triumphantly that they were nearly at the end of their troubles. He quotes Fleetwood's well-known message to the Speaker, and says that he, Desborough, Berry, Ashfield, and the rest, are in a mourning condition, thinking it in vain to fly, yet knowing that some examples must be made. As for the Anabaptists, they are all "as tame as asses and as mute as fishes." (*p.* 136.)

On January 2nd, the Mayor and Aldermen of Carlisle sent

Monk the assurance of their adherence; the first apparently of the long series of addresses which poured down upon him during his march through England, that memorable march of an army whose proclaimed object was to vindicate the superiority of the civil over the military power.

On January 27, Monk was at Dunstable, where Collins relates that he met him, charged by Lenthall with a letter and messages, advising the General by no means to offer to surrender his commission, lest the Parliament should take him at his word.

When Monk reached London, on February 4th, his designs were as much unknown as ever, and were the subject of endless surmises, some hoping "the best of him, that he will seek the nation's good" by declaring for a free Parliament, others fearing that he will join the Rump party (*pp.* 142-145). Some letters written to Bristol at this time give a graphic account of the tumults in the city, and of Monk's entrance and subsequent proceedings. One of the suggestions made is that Lambert may gather together the scattered soldiers that are abroad and with them declare for a free Parliament, as "there is little chance of Monk's doing so." Collins' narrative gives many details of what happened at this time.

Meanwhile, the Royalists were bestirring themselves in Yorkshire, and a meeting of gentry was held at York, under the lead of Lord Fairfax, in spite of the protests of Sir Thomas Morgan and of Col. Charles Fairfax. Divers of the gentlemen, including Lord Fairfax himself, and Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, met the two commanders before the meeting, engaging to them in honour only to do fair things; upon which and on finding that the intention was only to send an address to Monk, who, if he disliked it, might simply put it in his pocket, they were permitted to meet. But afterwards, being "certified that they acted high" and having seen a copy of the paper they intended to present, Morgan and Colonel Charles went to the place of meeting and declared their opinion of the said paper: that they conceived it to be of dangerous consequence and "tending to the embruing these poor nations into blood again." Lord Fairfax wrote a private letter to Monk, explaining that special care was taken at the meeting to exclude all who had been in arms against Parliament, and assuring him that it was not

the contrivance of a few, but "the desires of the most considerable part of the country," who would have met in far greater numbers but for giving occasion of jealousy to the soldiers. He urged Monk—as one who might be so good a means, by the assistance of God, to restore the nation to its just rights—to consider what they were sending to him, praying that he might be a happy instrument to open a door of hope for the people. The public letter thus sent up is at the British Museum (*Egerton MSS.* 2,618, *f.* 60) and a printed copy of it (and of the declaration enclosed with it) is amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office. On the 18th, Monk replied to them with an assurance that it had been settled that the house should be filled up and that there would be no qualification that could hinder the excluded members from sitting, which, though not exactly what they propounded would, he hoped, give them satisfaction (*pp.* 146-155).

Three or four letters from officers in Ireland are valuable as throwing light on the movement got up there by Coote, Theophilus Jones, and others, in support of Monk's action in England (*pp.* 141, 155).

Towards the end of February, dissatisfaction and disturbance began to show themselves amongst the troops, notably in Col. Rich's regiment, whose quarter-master, Humphrey Warren, writes to Monk that endeavours are being used to make the soldiers believe that Parliament intends to call in Charles Stewart. A few days later, a further account of Rich's doings is sent by Col. Ingoldsby (who was Monk's right hand in putting down both Rich's and Lambert's intended insurrections), and the articles against him are summarized on *p.* 168. Even yet, Monk's comrades were very slow to take up the idea that he really meant to restore the monarchy, but the people were rapidly becoming enthusiastic, and to their clamour for a free Parliament were now adding their demand for a King (*pp.* 159, 162, 163). There is a very interesting letter from Col. Overton, written as late as March 6th, in which he states that the "general noise of the nation for a King" has so startled the garrison at Hull that they had felt it necessary to declare to Monk their adherence to him (*see the letter from the garrison, p.* 163) in his resolution to support a Commonwealth, trusting that his integrity had so armed him against all such influences that

they would prove abortive in the birth. After representing the needs of his soldiers, and urging the payment of their arrears before any steps are taken for disbanding them, Overton concludes by assuring his Lordship of his constant adherence "to the cause of a Commonwealth, in opposition to a King, single person or House of Lords, or any other arbitrary government." In fact he protests so much that it looks as if he had doubts concerning Monk's intentions, although he professes such confidence in them (*p.* 170), and this idea is supported by the letter sent up by the garrison the week before, in which they plainly hint their suspicions, urge Monk to continue constant to what he had so positively declared in the presence of God against that interest, and proclaim their resolution to live and die in the Commonwealth cause.

In the west of England, Col. Okey, who feared from Monk's letter "that Charles Stuart would follow," had been giving some trouble, but he presently retracted his opposition, "to the dissipation of the black cloud" which had been hanging over Bristol (*pp.* 160, 164). He was not satisfied, however, and, continuing his agitation, was dismissed by Monk a few weeks later.

Captain Kelly and Colonel Whetham both wrote on April 12 respecting the expectations and high bearing of the Cavaliers, Whetham boldly saying that if they must have a single person, he wishes they would pitch upon his Excellency. Col. Fairfax and Col. Hugh Bethel at York, Colonel Streater and Sir John Norwich at Northampton, Major John Browne at Reading, and others send details of the doings of Lambert's party and the disturbances in Yorkshire (*pp.* 175-177, 180-182).

The list of the London Militia Commissioners, with notes (*p.* 166), the account of the quarrel between the old and new (*i.e.*, the King's and Marshal's) Colleges at Aberdeen (*p.* 134), and letters from Hugh Peters (*p.* 179), Sir Charles Coote, on the adjournment of the Irish Convention (*p.* 179), and Col. Fairfax, on the reading of the proclamation announcing the return of the King (*p.* 182), are worth notice. See also letters from Col. Unton Croke, son of Sir John Croke, a former Recorder of London and Speaker of the House of Commons (*p.* 174), Sir Wm. Lockhart, husband of Cromwell's niece Robina (*pp.* 172, 176), and Major,

afterwards Sir Edward Harley—son of Sir Robert Harley and Brilliana Conway—who is so often alluded to in his grandfather's letters as his "little Ned" (*pp.* 176, 189). Papers relating to Oxford are scattered through the volume, for which the reader is referred to the index.

Rather a curious point may be mentioned in regard to a MS. copy of the letter from S. L. to Lambert (*p.* 124), enclosing a supposed proclamation of Charles II. These were printed as a tract in 1659, and again by Lord Somers, who strongly defends the authenticity of the proclamation. It is difficult, however, to take it seriously, and the MS. version amongst these papers makes it more so, as it is spelt throughout in the Scotch, not the English fashion. From this it would appear that the whole was written by a Scotchman, for whilst it would be quite natural to alter the spelling to the English manner when printing it, it is hardly conceivable that anyone copying a document, would take the trouble to turn the English spelling into Scotch.

Of post-Restoration papers there are very few.

The most interesting perhaps are the letters from Col. Daniel and Sir Thomas Morgan on the state of affairs in Scotland (*pp.* 189-192). Amongst others worthy of notice are a list of the Fellows ejected at Oxford in 1648 and of those put in their places, which, though very imperfect, has points which do not appear to be noticed by Anthony à Wood, the Register of Visitors or elsewhere (*p.* 184); a curious inventory of goods of the late King, bought (for a very small sum) by Sir William Clarke (*p.* 194); a rather interesting news-letter from the Hague, written in December, 1655 (*p.* 195); and a long letter from Dean Prideaux, on the nations of the east (*p.* 254). There are several good Ormond letters (copies by Dr. Clarke), which are printed here, as although most—perhaps all—of them are in the Bodleian Library, they are only calendared in manuscript. One from the Duke of York to the King (*p.* 242), although very clearly dated, would seem to belong to the spring of 1682, when the Duke had triumphed over his enemies (and when he was certainly at Windsor during the last week of April), rather than to that of 1678, when, so far from the King being master, he was in the midst of the struggle with his Parliament, and "the

factionous party which was then prevalent amongst them made it their only business to be rid of the Duke, to pull down the ministers and to weaken the Crown" (*Life of James II.*).

A large number of documents, which formerly made part of the Littlecote collection, were purchased in 1884 for the British Museum, and now form Vols. 2,618-2,621 of the Egerton MSS.; the contents of the volumes being as follows:—

Eg. 2,618. Miscellaneous historical and other letters and papers, mostly drawn from the Clarke portion of the collection (1556-1753).

Eg. 2,619. Original letters from Queen Henrietta Maria to Charles I. (1642-1645). The greater number printed by Mrs. Everett Green from copies in the Harley MSS.

Eg. 2,620. Original letters of Oliver Cromwell (1648-1654). Printed in the *English Historical Review*, 1887, *p.* 150.

Eg. 2,621. Correspondence and papers of Admiral Arthur Herbert, cr. Earl of Torrington in 1689, chiefly relating to the Revolution of 1688.

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This Report has been prepared and the introduction has been written by Mrs. S. C. Lomas. Mr. C. H. Firth has given much kind help and advice during the progress of the work.





THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
F. W. LEYBORNE-POPHAM, Esq.  
OF LITTLECOTE, co. WILTS.

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RECUSANTS.

1582, May 27—Note, by John Manning, of the certificates from the Bishops of several dioceses of recusants in the said dioceses, “to remain of record in the Crown Office.”

PAPISTS AND JESUITS.

[1585? ]—“Questions to be answered for the Justice of England,” being queries to be referred to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chief Baron, Lieutenant of the Tower, &c., concerning the causes and manner of punishment of Papists and Jesuits, apparently with a view to refuting the statements of some book in their defence. Haydock and Hemerford are spoken of as “lately executed.”

G. ALEXANDER to his cousin, HUMPHREY POPHAM.

[1586, *circa*?] July 4. Dublin—I hope you have long before this received my former letter, together with the other to my father, and two rugs, and a runlet of Irish aqua-vitæ, to be conveyed to him. I pray you send him the enclosed, and when you get his letters to me in answer, see them safely delivered to Mr. Fantleroy or some others of my fellows, to be sent hither with all speed possible. I hope to see you in London at Michaelmas.

[*There is a Thomas Fauntleroy in the service of Sir Henry Wallop, Vice-Treasurer and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, whose name occurs frequently in the Irish Calendar of State Papers 1586-1588, as sending packets over to Ireland.*]

THOMAS STANLEY to SIR JOHN POPHAM, Lord Chief Justice of England.

[1599? ]—“It is holden a principle in experience that as many threads are stronger than one by combination, so many men’s heads are better than one in consultation,” and thus a work of worth may be performed by those whom the world deems weak. “Excellent is that law, my honourable good Lord, which is last provided for the poor, but yet as gold, be it never so precious, is unprofitable without use, so laws, be they never so laudable, want life without execution.” I pray leave to inform you of what

will much strengthen your careful proceedings for erecting houses of correction. It is a good work which your Lordship has in hand, and the Lord of Hosts will give his blessing to it. "It is now, my Lord, very near two years expired since myself and others engaged ourselves in prosecuting this cause," which alone has kept me in London with great charge and loss of time. I did not undertake it for private gain but for the good of my country, and to shew my duty to her Majesty and to your Lordship. "Give me leave, I beg you, a little further to expostulate with your Honour what now remaineth to finish this good and godly work. Surely nothing but authority, which by reference from her Majesty your honour hath. I doubt not but your honour's purpose is to have the service to be of continuance. I can no way see that we, the undertakers, shall be able to perform and hold it out to the good of the country, except your Lordship will vouchsafe to be a means that we may have authority granted unto us by her Majesty's letters patents for the employment of the stocks and implements to govern the houses, giving good and sufficient security for the stock in every county, with privilege of such works as by us hath at our great charge been devised only to perform this business, which works were never yet practised nor used by any other in this land." We will proceed only in Middlesex and Surrey, reforming the great abuses there, although there are other counties that have stock of money ready, and would have us come to them because they want men of experience to manage the work. The magistrates would like to take the benefit away from those that first revealed the means, "by means whereof the poor hath not been so set on work as they might have been . . . The greatness of your honour's weighty affairs in term time enforceth your Lordship that you cannot intend this business, therefore, according to your Lordship's direction, and as my duty is, my purpose was most willingly to have attended your Lordship this vacation, but having especial matters in the country this summer, which toucheth my poor estate very near, I humbly make bold to commend these bearers unto your honour with a book ready drawn by advice of counsel concerning this business, most humbly beseeching your Lordship in God's name vouchsafe to peruse over the said book, with these other few reasons here enclosed, and to give such allowance or correction thereunto as to your honour shall seem convenient. Since your Lordship's departure from London, I was with my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and Sir Robert Wroth, they being all together at the merchants' feast, and they told me their money shall be ready at what time your Lordship please to appoint. Surrey in most parts is also ready, so as I trust with your honourable furtherance the business will be prosperously forwarded." [*Probably relates to the Act of 1597.*]

ROGER DOWNES and WILLIAM STAPLETON.

1601, September 21—Fine levied upon Roger Downes, in the Queen's Court at Chester, before Sir Richard Lewkener, in regard of certain lands in Nether Upton, Upton and Macclesfield, co.

Chester, in suit between himself and William Stapleton. *Latin. Copy on parchment.*

JOHN FODEN and EDWARD CHERYE.

1601, September 21—Extract from the Plea Rolls concerning the above-mentioned, in relation to the Upton property. *Latin. Parchment.*

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, to LORD CHIEF JUSTICE POPHAM.

1603, August 19. Balliol College—Understanding by a letter delivered to us from your Lordship by Doctor Reynolds "that your honour is desirous to be certified the cause wherefore the fellows of our house cannot yield to the late addition of some conditions to be annexed to Mr. Blundell's foundation of the new places in our house, both of the fellowship and scholarship, according to your Lordship's desire, we have thought good, for the better satisfaction and contentation of your Lordship, that the master of our house, together with two of the ancient fellows, Dr. Higgs and Mr. Gittines, should repair unto your Lordship as well to acquaint your Lordship with the state of our old foundations, as also upon mutual conference to yield to such competent conditions as may not be overmuch of prejudiceness to the right and liberty of the poor and ancient fellowship. And what they shall do herein and agree unto with your Lordship, we, the rest of the fellows, shall be willing to approve and ratify."

ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

1615, June 13—Memorandum that all the masters of arts and doctors [of All Souls College] "concurred with Wadham College for the proctorship," except two or three, who were presumed by their silence to agree with the others, and Dr. Osborne, who was averse to it, but consented rather than differ from the rest. Signed by Richard Mocket, warden; Anthony Daveys, sub-warden; and the bursars and deans of the college. *Copy.*

*On the same sheet.*

1615, June 14—Memorandum that it was agreed by the warden and dean of law, in the presence of the rest of the officers, that Mr. Duppa, by not concurring with the rest in the election of a proctor, violated his oath, *damna, scandala, praejudicia, collegio non faciam*, and that for this result he should be put out of commons for three months. Richard Mocket, warden; Tho. Dingley, dean of law. *Copy.*

*On the same sheet.*

1617, May 3—William Bennion, M.A. and fellow of All Souls College, confessed before the warden and other officers that a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 26, had been twice read to him, which letter admonished the members of the college that when the major part of the fellows agreed in the choice

or a proctor, no man was publicly to dissent from the agreement, and by so doing to make the college a scorn to the University.

*Dorso* :—"In Dr. Woodward's time, the ten chaplains of New College were turned out by the sole power of the warden."

#### PARLIAMENT.

[1628] April 3—Paper book containing proceedings in Parliament concerning the liberty of the subject, on April 3 and 7. It gives the resolutions of April 3 and part of Littleton's speech and the whole of Selden's and Coke's speeches on the 7th; also a portion of the Attorney-General [Heath's] objections, and copies of some of the records cited, being almost identical with the account in *State Trials*, vol III., p. 82 *et seq.*

DR. CORBETT, Bishop of Norwich.

1634, April 19. Norwich—Speech delivered to his clergy at a synod held at Norwich on this date, urging them to contribute to the repairs of St. Paul's Cathedral. [*Printed in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1633-1634, but under date April 29.*]

CHARLES I. to DR. JOHN PRIDEAUX [Bishop of Worcester and] Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

1642, July 1. Court at York—Granting permission that all orders, &c., of Parliament may be publicly read in the University provided that his answers to them be read at the same time. *Copy.*

#### OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

[1642] July 12—Parliament order, forbidding the University to send the college plate to the King at York, and ordering the apprehension of Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Fell, Dr. Frewin, and Dr. Potter, who have been active in the matter. *Copy.* [*Printed in Lords' Journals, Vol. V., p. 208.*]

DIVERS [OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY] to the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

[1642?]—By the power and greatness of the Archbishop, their late Chancellor, your petitioners have extremely suffered in their liberties and freedoms, and are still enthralled by divers statutes and ordinances contained in a book of statutes, by his power and procurement imposed on them, as it may appear by the remonstrance hereunto annexed.

Therefore they humbly pray this honourable House that the said book of statutes may be annulled, and such other statutes established as are agreeable to the ancient liberties and privileges of the said University. and may tend to the advancement of learning, good manners, and the true reformed Protestant religion.  
*Subjoined,*

The Heads of the Remonstrance.

1. That the Archbishop's election to the Chancellorship was not statuteably made.
2. That he procured a book of statutes to be imposed on the University without consent of Convocation.
3. That he left out of the same book of statutes all former statutes which gave any limitation to the Chancellor's power.
4. That by the said book of statutes he enlarged his own power unreasonably.
5. That by the said book of statutes he settled on himself a vast arbitrary power.
6. That by the said [statutes] and otherwise he infringed the ancient and necessary right of appeals.
7. That by the said statutes the liberties of Congregation and Convocation are upon the matter quite taken away.
8. That he procured a meeting of heads of houses to be established, whose proceedings are inconsistent with the liberties of the masters.
9. That by the said statutes all magistrates are free from frequent punishment and the obligation of perjury if they shall neglect their duties, unless it be exceeding gross.
10. That he left others miserably fettered under the said statutes, by variety of punishments, oaths and subscriptions.
11. That he endeavoured to betray the privileges of the University into his own hands by subjecting the University to a metropolitical visitation.

EARL OF NEWCASTLE.

1643, October 7—Commission from the Earl of Newcastle to Captain William Leyburne to be captain of a troop of harquebusiers in the regiment under the command of Colonel Sir Ferdinando Leigh, Bart. *Signed.*

COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS for the Associated Western Counties to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1645, May 5. Starchamber—Commission to be colonel of a regiment of foot, with which he is immediately to march into the west to Sir Thomas Fairfax. *Signed by the Earl of Northumberland and fourteen others.*

CHARLES I. to QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

1646, October 17. Newcastle—Stating why he cannot consent to a Presbyterian form of government. *Copy.* [*Printed in Clarendon's State Papers, Vol. II., p. 277, and also, but with variations, in Mr. Bruce's "Letters of Charles I. to Henrietta Maria," p. 70.*]

CHARLES I. to QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

1646, November 21. Newcastle—Concerning the Militia, Church government, &c. *Copy*. [*Printed in Clarendon, Vol. II., p. 295, and "Letters of Charles I.," p. 79.*]

The SAME to the SAME.

1646, December 12 and 19. Newcastle—Concerning the covenant, Militia, &c. *Copy*. [*Printed in Clarendon, Vol. II., p. 313, and "Letters of Charles I.," p. 84.*]

JOHN CROSSMAN to SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

1647, December 20. Windsor Castle—Complaining of his unjust imprisonment, and protesting against the execution of martial law.

CAPTAIN LIEUTENANT JOHN INGRAM to SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

1647, December 21—Concerning his committal by the Council of War. [*Printed in the "Clarke Papers," Vol. II., Appendix A.*]

THOMAS MARGETTS to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1647, December 29. York—Concerning Levellers, the army, the action of the Scots, &c. [*Printed in the "Clarke Papers," Vol. II., Appendix A.*]

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

[1647]—Manuscript copy of Ashburnham's "Narrative" of King Charles I.'s escape to the Scottish army and to the Isle of Wight. *Draft. Imperfect.*

[*The MS. contains the first fifty (printed) pages of the "Narrative," and is corrected in two handwritings, one of which bears some resemblance to Ashburnham's own. The printed "Narrative," of which the original is stated by Lord Ashburnham to be in possession of the family, agrees with this MS. as corrected.*]

COLONEL THOMAS RAINBOROWE to LORD [GENERAL FAIRFAX].

1648, October 15. Doncaster—"I am much troubled that I am not able to give your Excellency so good an account of the business of Pontefract as I hoped by this I should have done. I was necessitated to stay so long at London to gain the month's pay for my regiment, as it was the last night ere I got hither. This day I went to Pontefract and acquainted Sir Henry Cholmely and the other chief officers with my orders from your Excellency

as to that business. He, with very much violence, declared his non-submission thereto, saying your Excellency had nothing to do with them nor they with you, and that he had told your Excellency publicly so much when he was last at the headquarters. Colonel Fairfax and Colonel Malevory [Mauleverer] told him they conceived otherwise and were ready and glad to obey your Excellency's orders. He thereupon answered they and all others that had a mind to it might, but that there was two or three regiments that he was sure would not, but offered that if I would write one letter to the Parliament he would write another, and as they ordered, it should be. I told him they had given your Excellency your power and I was under your commands, had your orders and expected no other, but should prosecute them. He replied he should do the same by those orders he had from the committee, and would obey no other unless immediately from the Parliament. We are to meet at York with the committee of the Militia on Tuesday, and if they or the Parliament shall take from him the power he hath received, he then resolves to sit down with it. I found my regiment in the Isle of Axholm and not engaged, because they could have no assurance of such necessary provision as might put them into a condition of service. I hear nothing from any of the horse your Excellency appointed to march to me. The greatest want for the well managing of this siege is horse, here being only two foot and two horse regiments, one of each being upon duty every night and the other two lying by in reserve, so that they are almost upon constant duty, which hath so worn out the horse that the small party the enemy hath in the castle baffles them exceedingly.

The enemy is increased since this siege from sixty to six score horse. Last Friday they ruined one troop, killed eight, have the captain, lieutenant and several others prisoners. Yesterday they did the same to another troop, killing ten on the place and carrying away divers horse, foot and pioneers, prisoners. Truly, sir, I find these horse so over-mastered and disheartened hereby, that without an addition of some better horse, it is impossible to manage this siege; the enemy still keep the Hall and take liberty to go whither they please on that side, as appears by their rambling ten miles outright, and returning safe with prisoners and other booty.

Sir Henry offered at last that I might make a new post on the Hall side and command my own men there, and he his, till he heard from the Parliament, which for the furtherance of the service I should have done, if I had had any horse of my own, or could have expected any from them that might have secured us till we had thrown up our works, which we could not, our forces being every day beaten from those few posts they already keep, neither is the leaguer in any measure provided of ammunition. Powder and shot is expected from Hull, but match there is none, though it be as much wanted as any of the other, nor is there any tools provided for intrenchments or approaches. I am unwilling at this time to acquaint your Excellency with such grounds of jealousy as the honest men, as well soldiers as others,

have concerning the management of this business. I should take it for a very great respect to be excused from this service. But if your Excellency shall think fit still to command me in it, if I may be supplied with horse and ammunition—which are of absolute necessity to this work—I doubt not of carrying it on to the honour and satisfaction of your Excellency, the country, and the afore-named officers, who expressed their willingness and readiness to submit to your command herein. My resolution is to continue at Doncaster till I hear from your Excellency, unless in the meantime the horse appointed come up to me and there be such a supply of ammunition made as may rationally enable us to the service.

I cannot omit to acquaint your Excellency that some of my regiment have carried themselves very abusively in their march through the country, in so much that without some extraordinary example of justice upon one or two of the prime villains it will be impossible to satisfy the country or reduce the regiment into that regularity which all the honest men in it desire, and cannot comfortably command without, which is no way to be accomplished, but by a commission from your Excellency for trial of them according to the nature of their offences, which are very high and crying.”

R[OBERT] SPAVIN to WILLIAM CLARKE at St. Albans.

1648, November 2. Byram, near Pontefract—Dear friend and bridegroom, I am glad that you have a little breathing-time after your solemnities, to visit your poor friends with a line. Tommy Wragg must wear a willow garland and give the eldership to you. But sure, if you had no better choice than we had in Scotland, you would not be so lusty.

“We are merry now that we have set our faces towards the sun, and I think we should have kept pace with it till we got to St. Albans had not Pomfret put a stop to us, as being by the House’s order and the committee of Yorkshire’s desire to take the care of the siege, which will ask us three weeks’ time to settle, and then I hope we shall draw towards you and leave Colonel Bright to command.

The Yorkshire foot, Lieut.-Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Maleverer, &c., are exceeding cordial to us, and I believe will not be disbanded, but Cholmeley, a very knave, hates us to the death, leapt at the news of Colonel Rainsborowe’s being killed.

I am very glad and so [are] the rest of our friends, to hear of a beginning to action with you. I verily think God will break that great idol the Parliament, and that old job-trot [*sic*] form of government of King, Lords, and Commons. It is no matter how nor by whom, sure I am it cannot be worse if honest men have the managing of it—and no matter whether they be great or no. I hope we shall shortly see one another, when I intend to ask your advice to the choosing of a wife.



Well, my heart, the Lord is about a great work, and such as will stumble many mean-principled men, and such as I think but few great ones shall be honoured withall." *Quoted by Mr. Firth in his preface to Vol. II. of the Clarke Papers, p. 7.*

THE OFFICERS of his REGIMENT to LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CROMWELL.

1648, November—Requesting him to present a petition to his Excellency, their much honoured general. *Signed by J. Blackmore, Edw. Scotten, Jos. Wallington, and fourteen others. Endorsed, "From his own regiment of horse, to be printed before their petition to the general." [Probably one of those enclosed in Cromwell's letter of November 20th. See Rushworth, VII., p. 1,339.]*

THOS. B[LAGUE?] to JOHN RUSHWORTH, Secretary to Lord Fairfax, Queen Street, near Covent Garden.

1648[-9], January 11. Winchester—I thank both the general and yourself for your good opinion of me. As for the enclosed memorandum of the officers, I find a great deal of reason to stream through every line thereof, but it is not reason that will either carry me thither or maintain me there, wherefore I desired my estate that I might be serviceable. Had it been a temporal estate, I might have sold it as soon as I got it, but being altogether ecclesiastical, I could not. I submit to the reasons given, but if they will have me make brick they must find straw. I live merely upon the fortune which I had provided for my children; my wife is permitted by the committee to be their servant, and I, her almsman. But if you provide legs for me, I shall be ready to go or run to serve you and the sooner the better. *Endorsed by Wm. Clarke, "Scout for Ireland." [Signature much defaced, apparently by intention.]*

MARQUIS OF ORMOND to King CHARLES II.

1648[-9], February 21—*Copy. [Printed in Carte's "Life of Ormonde," Vol. III., p. 608.]*

COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONELS POPHAM, BLAKE, and DEANE.

1648[-9], February 27—Commission appointing them to be Commissioners for ordering and commanding the fleet during the ensuing year. *Signed by the Earl of Denbigh. [Copy calendered under this date; see Cal. of S.P. Dom., 1649-1650.]*

473 to [THOMAS KYNASTON?].

1648-9, March 15-25—"To encourage you to take some pains in this kind I will assure you that his Majesty shall know his obligations to you, and now I must needs join in opinion with you that it is high time for all honest men to use their utmost

endeavours for revenging the horrid murder of the late King and for the restoring his Majesty, that now is, to the possession of his three kingdoms, which we look upon thus : upon England as only recoverable by the sword, the quarrel of the independent party being not individual against the person of the King, but specially against the government itself (monarchy) to which purpose we are making applications to foreign Princes for assistance. Earl of Brainford [Brentford\*] is in Sweden to that end, and letters are sent to the Emperor, King of Spain, and others, his Majesty's want of money being so great that he is not able to send ambassadors or agents. Ireland we look on as almost our own, which indeed I think will be the first place whither his Majesty will remove, from whence as occasion shall serve forces may be landed in the west of England, Wales, Scotland, about which is the only great dispute amongst us, for that kingdom is considered as recoverable one of two ways, either by complying with Ormond [Argyle?] and his party, or by endeavouring to destroy them. For the pressing of the first of these, Will Murray is lately come hither from Scotland to persuade the King to put himself into Argyle's hands, to become the head of the Covenant. There are not a few that advise his Majesty to take the Covenant, because they conceive it would prove the best way for us in time of all interests in that kingdom, and also by that means the King would in short time be able to wrest the power out of Argyle's hands. That course is strongly opposed by Montrose—who is now here—and all his party, who propose the way of force as agreeing better both with conscience and honour. Most of our high boys at court are of this opinion, especially Gerard, who is a fast friend to Montrose. Lanerick and Lowden, who are not well satisfied with the counsel of this place, keep aloof from business and propose nothing. His Majesty has attempted nothing as yet in the business of accommodation betwixt Montrose and Lanerick, which I am afraid will be found a difficult work. Hopton is here, and one of the four to whom the managing of affairs is trusted, a person certainly of great integrity and my friend, the other three, Cottington, Culpepper and Hyde, of whom truly I have a good esteem, though generally these are much hated. Your friend Denham went to France with the Duke of York. Now, Tom, to sum up all ; our King hath as hard a game to play as our poor Prince had, his councillors but few and they hated by most ; his Court but little, and yet full of factions, and these strengthened and increased by the divisions and differences that are betwixt the Scots Lords, now by accident met together in this place ; and yet I hope God Almighty will so order all our affairs that we shall one day meet happily and live quietly and peaceably together under the government of his Majesty, our lawful sovereign, and that this may be speedily accomplished, is the constant and hearty prayers of—dear Tom—your affectionate servant, 473."

*Postscript.*—"I have written to you at this time by my friend, because I conceived it might be dangerous to write openly in

\* Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth.

these ticklish times. I shall desire you to appoint in your next to me how I shall direct mine for the future. Is there no loyalty left in the City? If there be and you can discover it, the only way to show it will be by presenting his Majesty with some handsome sum of money. I will assure you that ten or twenty thousand pounds at this time will set the King's affairs in great forwardness, in which if you can be instrumental you will not want all due acknowledgment. Let me know your opinion in it, so once again God keep you." *Endorsed, "Mr. Kineston letter" [it cannot, however, have been written by him, as he was in England].*

## SHIPS.

1648[-9], March 20—The stations of the ships of the fleet, with their commanders. Forty-nine ships of war are mentioned and eight merchant ships.

COLONEL DEANE and COLONEL BLAKE to COLONEL EDW. POPHAM.

1648[-9], March 24—Instructions concerning his command of the fleet. *Signed.*

## The COUNCIL OF STATE to LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, March 26. Derby House—Directing him to take measures for the security of Montgomery and Hawarden Castles in Flintshire, and also of Chirk Castle, the dwelling-house of Sir Thomas Middleton. *Signed by John Bradshaw. Seal of the Council, impressed.*

## [COLONEL POPHAM.]

1649, March 28—Account of a voyage begun on this date, the fleet being then under the joint command of Cols. Blake, Deane, and Popham. "Intelligence was brought to the Council of State upon Saturday, the 24th of March, that five ships, under the command of Rupert, were come to Scilly and lay in the mouth of the channel to intercept all merchant ships as they came hence, and that they had already taken the *Culpepper*, the *Ark* and other ships, richly laden. It was agreed amongst ourselves that one of us should forthwith repair abroad one of the ships belonging to the Parliament of England that were abroad, and there to command that part of the fleet till the rest could be made ready and to take all opportunities of destroying or reducing the enemy's ships. It falling to my lot, and I receiving orders and instructions to that purpose, upon the Monday following, being the 26th of March, repaired to the Downs, where I found the *Charles* and forthwith went aboard of her; there were likewise the *Constant Warwick* and the *Nicodemus* in that Road. On Thursday morning the 29th of

March, there came a post from Margate, and informed me that there had been an Irish frigate in that road and had taken thence a small vessel. I presently ordered the *Nicodemus* to look after this man-of-war, who that day recovered his prize from him but the frigate got away. The 3rd of April the *Hector* coming from Portsmouth into the Downs, I ordered her to range the coast of Flanders and to lie off Ostend and Dunkirk to intercept the enemy's prizes as they were bringing them into those ports, purposing myself with the first opportunity of wind and weather to sail with the *Charles*, *Constant Warwick*, and *Nicodemus* to the westward. The 5th of April, the wind continuing westerly, I ordered the *Constant Warwick* to stand over for Callis (Calais) with a convoy, and as soon as ever he had seen her safe there to return again. The 6th the wind coming up at n.w. I set sail, and when I came into Dover Road, I found it at w.n.w. I stopped there for the *Constant Warwick*, who came to me the next day. It blew very fresh at w.s.w. thick weather, and so I was forced back again into the Downs, having, before I came out of Dover Road, received a letter from the Generals of the fleet, ordering me to take with me to the westwards three rich East India ships that were outward bound, which caused my stay there till the 16th following, in which time came down the *Assurance* frigate, the three East India ships, which Captain Proud, Captain Swan and Captain Tompson commanded, as likewise the white hoy laden with provisions for the soldiers in Ireland, bound for Dublin. The *Robert* frigate and the *Increase* came likewise from Portsmouth into the Downs, and the *Greyhound* from the northward, who had rescued a Holland ship laden with corn, bound for Yarmouth, from an Irish man-of-war, whom he brought thither to me. The *Robert* I ordered to lie off Dungeness, the *Increase* to lie off Folkestone to be ready to join with me as I went to the westward, and the *Greyhound* to return with his prize to Yarmouth and there upon payment of an eighth for salvage to release her.

[Two pages missing.]

The 10th, 11th, and 12th [of May] we did all we could to fit out the squadron for Ireland; upon the 12th I got notice of the *Triumph* being on the coast, and dispatched away the *Hercules* to bring me word. The 13th I set sail and stood off to sea, about twelve o'clock at noon I met with the *Triumph*, and that night came aboard of her, where we resolved to stand back again for Plymouth Sound to fit ourselves there and take those ships that were there along with us, and stand away for Kinsale. The 14th we dispatched away the *Andrew*, the *Lion*, the *Assurance*, the ketch, for Dublin, the Vice-Admiral with his squadron came into us this day, and brought in with him Smith's ship, which had been rescued from the Prince's fleet, and this night we stood into Plymouth Sound. The 15th we sent for the prisoners from Pendennis Castle that were taken in the *Guinea* frigate, we went ashore and examined what of the prisoners were fit to be released, the sickness being amongst them and they likely to bring disease into the town, so we gave

them an engagement never to act anything against the Parliament, and so released them. The 16th we fitted our ships with ballast and took in water. The 17th we held a Council of War upon the prisoners taken in the *Guinea* frigate, which had been revolters; two that were officers, the one a gunner, the other a boatswain [on] the *Guinea* frigate, and were both officers in the *Satisfaction*, and had revolted in her, were condemned to die with three others. The 18th the boatswain and gunner were both hanged at the yard arm, the other three, being common men, were reprieved. This day we set sail with the whole fleet out of Plymouth for the coast of Ireland. The 19th we saw a sail coming out of Mount's Bay, which stood towards Scilly, our frigates chased her, and about twelve at noon fetched her up and brought her to us, she was a States man-of-war bound for Waterford, in her were found an English Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and two Captains, all bound to the Marquis of Ormond, whom we took out, and sent them in the *Phoenix*, who had that day wronged the head of her mainmast, to Pendennis Castle to be kept prisoners. The 20th it blew very hard at N.E. and E.N.E., this day we made the high land of Dungannon and towards night stood off again to sea. The 21st we came in to the Bay of Kinsale. [*In Colonel Popham's handwriting.*]

[COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM to the COMMANDER of a ship.]

[1649, March?—Instructions concerning the forthcoming expedition.

#### PHILIP WARD.

1649, April 9—Examination of Philip Ward, of Rochester, concerning certain letters "found about him."

*Enclosing,*

*Earl of Norwich to Capt. Philip Ward.*

1648, May 12th and 20th—*Two commissions, appointing him severally Captain in Col. Richard Leigh's regiment and serjeant-major of Col. James Till's regiment. Parchment. Signed.*

LIEUT.-GENERAL OLIVER CROMWELL to [JOHN] RUSHWORTH, Secretary.

1649, April 14—"It is hereby desired that Captain Richard Crackenthorpe's troop be put into the regiment of Col. Hacker and that the said Captain and his officers have their commissions given accordingly." *Signed,*

COLONEL THOMAS PRIDE and others to COLONEL MACKWORTH.

1649, April 17. St. James'—Asking for the release of Mr. Tillam, now a prisoner in [Shrewsbury] garrison. *Signed by Col. Pride, Hugh Peters and John Mason.*

The COMMITTEE OF CO. HANTS to SIR HENRY MILDMAY.

1649, April 19. Winchester—Complaining of the “insufferable violences and oppressions this country yet laboureth under” from the ill carriage of Colonel Martin’s regiment. *Signed.* [Printed in the “Clarke Papers,” Vol. II., p. 212.]

*Enclosing,*

*Inhabitants of Whitchurch to Lord Fairfax.*

1649, April—Complaining of their losses by the free quartering of Col. Martin’s soldiers upon them, and praying *his Excellency’s warrant for avoiding such burdens in time to come.* *Signed by John Morgan, Mayor; Alexander Gregson and John Belchamber, ministers; and 46 others.*

CAPTAIN JOHN GLADMAN to COLONEL WHALLEY.

1649, April 19. Kingston—Concerning the diggers at St. George’s Hill. *Printed in the “Clarke Papers,” Vol. II., p. 211.*

COLONEL GEORGE TWISLETON to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Whitehall.

1649, April 20. Denbigh—“I hear some forces are designed to march through these countries towards Anglesey for Ireland. I much pity them in regard they will be starved, for this country has not bread for the inhabitants. Corn cannot be gotten for money. Wheat was at 16s. the bushel at our market. The Lord expedite the Irish expedition and quicken the councils of our chieftains. It is high time we were up and doing both at home and abroad. There is much fire under the ashes and much tinder everywhere. A little blast will bring them together, and then such a flame as has not yet been in England.”

COLONEL JOHN POYER to COLONEL FLEETWOOD.

1649, April [21]. Whitehall—Be pleased to cast your eye over these few lines, and present the truth to his Excellency. It is known “how faithfully I have served the Parliament in their lowest ebb of affairs, and at such time that the King had taken Bristol, all Wales—Pembroke excepted—declared for the King, our forces routed at Emling Castle by Gerett [Gerard], myself then on shipboard bound for London; but upon the report of so sad news I repaired to Pembroke, prepared for a

siege, and withstood Gerett and his forces for eleven weeks and at last forced him to raise the siege." I refused his offer of preferment, with 5,000*l.* to boot, and although not commissioned by Parliament nor receiving a penny from them, I stood firm to my principles. I am proclaimed traitor without proof of disaffection, the small sum I prayed to relieve my poor wife and four children is denied me, and, despairing of right done me against my bloody enemies drove me desperate to defend myself and to secure some of them, but in obedience to the General's letter I released them, whose liberty hath produced much mischief and brought myself to this deplored condition." Had I intended to desert Parliament, I should not have set at liberty Colonel Fleming's soldiers and the seamen taken at Pembroke, nor have sent privately to the Lieut.-General to surrender the town. "Pardon my boldness, for life is sweet, and all lawful means are to be sought after to preserve the same."

CAPTAIN THOMAS RIPPON to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1649, April 24. Lancaster Castle—"Yesterday I turned forth of the castle all the Papist priests [and] most of the debtors and felons, and sent them into the gaoler's house in the town, fourteen remaining, some of them for murders, others are in upon outlawries after judgment. I desire to receive direction to turn these after the rest. Then we shall have none but prisoners of war within the castle."

WILLIAM CLARKE to CAPTAIN RIPPON.

1649, April 24. Queen Street—"The work of Ireland goes on very hopefully as to the supply of men, but little news yet of money, which is the great wheel that turns all." The Presbyterians "are very high in this city; though they shut their church doors on Thursday last, yet they are resolved to be more strict to-morrow, notwithstanding the Parliament's order published to the contrary for the observation of it."

The Parliament are not like to have their act for the taking away of kingly government proclaimed. The same scruple remains as before and without another act it will hardly be done.

Colonel Poyer should have been shot to death this day in the Piazza in the Covent Garden, but it is deferred till to-morrow at ten of the clock in the forenoon. It is observable that the lot should fall upon him who was the first beginner of the second war." *Signed.*

PETER BOUND of Uphempston to LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX.

1649, April 24—Complaining that he is sued at law for matters merely relating to the war, although he is comprised in Exeter Articles. *With reference to the Judge Advocate of the army, signed by Fairfax.*

## CAPTAINS BLAKE and DEANE to LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, April 26. The Downs—Begging that the officers of the fleet under their command, who are inhabitants of Rochester, Strood, and Chatham, may be exempted from having soldiers billeted on them. *Signed.*

## GEORGE ASHE and others to LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, April 27—Begging for mercy and that they may be exempted from casting lots for their lives. *Endorsed*, "Petition of the six condemned troopers." [*Printed in King's Pamphlets, E. 552, No. 18.*]

## CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRAY to THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, April [27]. Windsor Castle—[*Printed in King's Pamphlets, E. 552, No. 6.\**]

## LIEUT.-COLONEL J. REDE to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Whitehall.

1649, April 28. Poole—Concerning the quarterings of Captain Lillingston's company, and the hardships endured by the inhabitants of Poole, Wimborne, Canford, and Corfemullin.

## COLONEL JAMES HEANE to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1649, April 29. Weymouth—Sir Hardress Waller's company has gone and a company from Bristol is come in their places, who have no money and little clothes, and so are "rather like to besiege us in eating up our provision than any way to comfort us." I pray you procure a pass from the General for Mr. John Lewer to go to Scilly to exchange a former fellow-prisoner of mine, Mr. Thomas Waltham, who is like to perish there.

## The MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER and others to LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, April—Certifying that Lieut.-Colonel Grime, Deputy-Governor of the garrison of Gloucester, has been faithful to his trust and kept the soldiers under his command in good order, maintaining a fair correspondence between them and the citizens. *Signed by Henry Cugly, Mayor, and 17 others.*

## HAWKERS OF BOOKS to LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX.

1649, April—Your petitioners, being maimed soldiers and poor tradesmen who have lost their livelihoods during the war, have been forced to sell papers in the streets to keep themselves from starving, but a warrant has been directed by your Excellency to the Marshal General of the Army requiring him to put in execution the Ordinances of Parliament concerning scandalous

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\* This is not the letter printed in Cary's *Memorials of the Civil War*.



pamphlets, and the Act of Common Council prohibiting persons from crying or selling any books or papers in the streets of the City of London, by which your petitioners will be ruined. They do not desire to sell any unlicensed books, but "the benefit of licensed pamphlets doth now redown only to the benefit of four or five rich men, who although they be stationers, yet were never apprenticed to sell pamphlets." Your petitioners, therefore, pray you to mitigate the clause in your warrant concerning the Act of Common Council, and engage themselves not only never to sell any papers reflecting upon your proceedings, but also to discover any that shall go about to impair the same.

ANNE LAUGHARNE to THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX.

1649, April—Praying for mercy for her husband, Major General Laugharne.

ELIZABETH POYER to THE SAME.

1649, April—A like petition for her husband, Colonel John Poyer.

MAUD, MARY AND ELIZABETH POWELL to THE SAME.

1649, April—A like petition for their brother, Colonel Rice Powell.

The COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, May 13. Navy Office—Enquiring whether the merchant ships which had been hired for six months by the State, would be required for a longer period. *Signed by Thomas Smith and Colonel Willoughby.*

COLONELS RICHARD DEANE and ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, May 22. Aboard the *Triumph*, before Kinsale—Directing him to repair to Sir George Ayscue and give him order to send them one or two of his best ships; thence to go to Plymouth in the *Adventure*, and order the Vice-Admiral to repair to them in Kinsale Road, leaving the *Phoenix* to range that channel, and from Plymouth to hasten to London to represent their condition and the posture of the enemy to the Council of State, and to desire that money and provision may be sent to them with all expedition. *Signed.*

SHIPS.

1649, May 22—A list of 64 ships for the summer's expedition.

COLONELS ROBERT BLAKE and RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, in Fish Yard, Westminster.

1649, June 5. Milford Haven—Informing him that they have stopped 1750*l.* composition money, which they found there in the County Committee's hands, for the purposes of the fleet, and that they have drawn bills for repayment on Sir Henry Vane. *Signed.*

COLONELS ROBERT BLAKE and RICHARD DEANE to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, June 20. The *Triumph* before Kinsale—After long encounter with opposite winds we are safe again in Kinsale road. "Upon our repair hither we have intelligence that that providence which hath kept us by ill-weather hence, hath by the same kept all the revolvers still in here, so that we have the same number of Rupert's fleet now within the port which we left there." It is the desire of our souls "that no opportunity may be prætermitted which may answer your expectations in the reducement of that perfidious crew which are sheltered in this harbour." *Copy.*

THOMAS MEDOWE and WILLIAM LUCAS to JEFFREY COBBE in London.

1649, June 21. Yarmouth—Complaining of the "great losses and spoils upon the poor fishermen in the North Seas" by the Irish and other enemies.

CAPTAIN THOS. SPARLING to the COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY, in Mincing Lane.

1649, June 23. Guernsey—Complaining of Captain Stokes and begging that a frigate may be sent, whose commander may take charge of the squadron.

COLONELS RICHARD DEANE and ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, June 27. *Triumph* before Kinsale—The enemy is now in sight of us, and "our intelligence says they intend to use all means to get out by escaping, their vessels being clean, or otherwise to fight us." We hope our keeping in the enemy here may answer the importunity of those interested in the Newfoundland vessels, for whose safety, were not the season almost past, we should do our utmost for accommodating them with a convoy. *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, June 29—Informing him of their great want of victuals and that Colonel Deane has been fixed upon by lot to go to

Plymouth and get supplies, whilst the other general remains behind to watch the enemy's motions. Also that Sir George Ayscue, being able to spare no help from Dublin to keep in the rebels at Waterford and Washford [Wexford], they are forced to have regard to those parts. *Signed*.

COLONELS RICHARD DEANE and ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, June 29. The *Triumph* before Kinsale—Asking that James Moulton, son of Vice-Admiral Capt. Robert Moulton, may have command of one of the frigates now building. *Signed*.

[COLONEL POPHAM to COLONEL DEANE and COLONEL BLAKE.]

[1649, June, London]—I have almost settled my business here, and shall then hasten to the Downs. The Council of State has ordered the *Charles* thither, having heard that Charles Stuart ["the Prince" *erased*] has got together 800 English seamen at Breda, for some sudden design. The Prince of Orange has borrowed 50,000*l.* from the States to lend to him. I hope to get the constant establishment of the Navy settled before I leave here, "and then we shall not hereafter be so to seek for money when we have occasion." I have sent down bills of credit for 1,600*l.* towards the victualling of the ships to Mr. John Goodier at Plymouth, ready for your orders, and the bills for 5,000*l.* shall be speeded after them. *Draft*.

COLONEL DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM in London.

1649, July 3. Aboard the *Charles* in Plymouth Sound.—I arrived here yesterday, and have resolved to coast about for the security of the East India merchants. If you be not gone out of London "I conceive you may do a great service to the State in prevailing for some considerable number of forces to be speedily sent into Munster, which in probability may not only be advantageous for the gaining of Kinsale and the revolters there, who make the land their refuge, but for the raising and withdrawing the enemy from Dublin." *Signed*.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

1649, July 4—Resolution, "That the order of the 11th of October, 1648—concerning debarring such from votes as did not submit to the Visitation—doth extend only to the matters of government and reformation of Colleges, and not in respect of letting of leases or any emoluments or profits belonging to their particular places." Present—Dr. Reynolds, vice-chancellor; Dr. Wilkinson, President of Magdalen College; Dr. Mills; Lieut.-Colonel Kelsey, governor of Oxford; and Colonel Scroope. "By order of the visitors, Ra: Austin, registrar."

## ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, July 4. I received your commands this morning, and wrote to Col. Willoughby to give a sound check to the commanders for their neglect, and Capt. Sharpe and Capt. Goose tell me that they will be ready to sail on Friday. I cannot learn where the Lord Lieutenant will take ship, but have reminded the Council that the generals of the fleet ought to know something of the matter in order to provide a convoy. It is rumoured this morning that all your ships are beaten and sunk at Kinsale, and that Rupert is now triumphant before Dublin with his fleet, blocking up the place. This is but one of ten thousand of their feigned stories. You will receive herewith the Scottish letter, which is referred by the House to the Council of State. The bearer, Capt. Tatnell, is an honest, religious man and made a stout fight.

## COLONEL DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, July 6. Aboard the *Charles* in Plymouth Sound—Urging upon him the importance of hastening forward the victualling of the ships. *Signed*.

## COLONEL POPHAM to SIR HENRY VANE.

1649, July 6. The *Happy Entrance* in Dover Road—I have contracted with several persons for provisions for the ships; the only stop is money, and finding no other way of getting it but by your sending the whole 3,000*l.* down to me in specie, I have sent up the bearer, Captain Boddiley, captain of this ship, to receive it and bring it down in one of the small frigates. *Copy*.

## ROBERT COYTMOR to [COL. EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, July 6. Whitehall—"I beseech you take into consideration how Sir George Aiscue may be supplied with victuals, for it would much sadden the hearts of the besiegers if he and the rest of his squadron should be forced from thence."

## The SAME to the SAME.

1649, July 7—Here is one Monsieur Gomand, that was the French ambassador's servant, who came over lately as a spy I believe. He tells me that Sir Robert Welsh had undertaken to raise a regiment in Ireland for the service of the French King, and that some of the ships under your command met with five hundred of his men at sea and brought them into Plymouth. He desires they may be released. I remember there was a ship brought in March into Milford which had between two and three hundred soldiers in her, but how they are disposed I could not tell.

ROBERT COTYMER to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, July 10. Whitehall—The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland took his journey this evening about seven towards Ireland, purposing this night to lodge at Reading. He had in his company about 200 men, most of which were of his life-guard and their servants, with other gentlemen to accompany him out of town. I suppose he goes for Bristol and so for Milford.

COLONEL BLAKE to COLONEL POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, July 10. Before Kinsale—I doubt not Colonel Deane hath acquainted you with the necessities of the fleet, as also of our taking the *Teresa* frigate under command of Captain Darcy, known to us before by the name of the *Wexford*, wherein were Sir Hugh Wyndham and Colonel William Legg.

"I am sorry such clamours should come from the north coast. You very well know from the beginning how ready we have been to preserve trade, and how impossible it is to give satisfaction unto all clamours," especially for the fleet in this place, from whom so great performances are expected, as was lately hinted in a letter from the Council of State. *Signed*.

#### LEVELLERS.

1649, July 11—Form of engagement on the part of the Levellers to remain true prisoners at Taunton; with note that "the Levellers being to remove out of Bridewell unto another place to be secured in, were demanded to subscribe in writing unto a paper for being true prisoners, and this being sent them, they utterly refused to sign it, saying they would rather lie in a dungeon."

SIR HENRY VANE, JUNR., to COLONEL DEANE, on board the *Charles*.

1649, July 14—I am sending the 3,250*l.* as you desire. As to the 5,000*l.* which you say will not serve to victual the ships on the Irish coast, all I can say is that the estimate of that sum was according to the number of men given us by Colonel Popham, and therefore your proposition of 2,000*l.* more seems very extraordinary. If you can certify the occasion of this charge, without doubt the Council will do what is reasonable therein. *Copy*.

COLONEL POPHAM to SIR HENRY VANE, JUNR.

1649, July 18. The Downs—I have seen yours of the 14th to Colonel Deane, and must acquaint you that I never made demand of this 5,000*l.* as a sum of money to victual the whole fleet in Ireland for two months, but as a sum which I hoped might carry on the work there, for if you expect the 11,000*l.* to victual the whole fleet for two months you will find it a mistake. "There is not a place in England that you can victual in under 1*l.* 5*s.* a man a month, which for 6,000 men for two months

amounts to 15,000*l.*, for though some things be cheaper in one place than another yet other things are dearer; if beef be cheap, pork, pease and fish are dearer, and so in other provisions, that there is very little difference of victualling in any place unless we could buy in all places those things which are best cheap in every place, which we have not time to do."

Coytmor writes advising me to make a step up and perfect the business of the winter guard with the Council myself, which I do not understand, as I have already given the list to the Council and they to the House. But it is not unusual for Mr. Coytmor to mistake winter for summer, therefore, he may mean me to remind the Council of State to provide money for the summer guard. When I am with Colonel Deane, we will join together to write a letter and send it to you to deliver. *Copy.*

SIR HENRY VANE [JUNT.] to COLONEL POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, July 19. Whitehall—"I have received your letter of the 18th instant from the Downs, and we have put the business of the two months' victualling of the whole fleet in a way to be certified from the Commissary of the Navy of the true estimate of the charge, that whatever is above the 11,000*l.* may be supplied you, which you need not doubt will be when the true state of it come to appear, and so you may tell Col. Deane when you see him, but if you and Col. Deane do not write to the Council of State that care be taken for to provide monies timely to pay off the mariners' wages against their coming in, we shall be exceedingly to seek, for the hundred thousand pounds intended us from Deans' and Chapters' lands we have received as yet but 20,000*l.* of, and now the necessities of Ireland are such that the Council think they shall be forced to put a stop upon the remainder for the present, hoping to provide timely enough for the mariners' wages,\* wherein I doubt they may be slow if they be not quickened by you, not thinking, I believe, that those ships that are now abroad designed for the winter guard and which must come in before the rest, will call for money so soon as I am confident they will. For the preparing and fitting the winter guard we have written to the Commissioners of the Navy to be mindful of it, and hold correspondency frequently with you about it, and therefore it will not need you should come up about it; I know your presence is more necessary where it is, and therefore, for Mr. Coytmor's conceit, I hope it shall not further trouble you nor take impression upon you, but I pray let our winter guard be out and this summer's service first over before you mention the next summer's fleet, lest we be overwhelmed with the thought of charge before we be able to overcome it." *Holograph.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, July 19. Whitehall—"Sir Henry Vane hath written to the Commissioners of the Navy to review the whole fleet

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\* See Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-1650, p. 238.

which are at present upon the charge for the State, and to make a new calculation of the number of men and what the charge for victualling of them will amount to for two months, whereby he may move the Council of State for a supply of money to what hath been already delivered forth."

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY TO COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, July 23. Navy Office—We have received a letter from the Admiralty Committee,\* intimating a mistake of 11,000*l.* in our estimate, which we have examined into and find fully allowed. We wonder much why you should apply to the Council of State without in the least acquainting us with our supposed error. We find your estimate miscast as regards the beer, but have taken no notice of it to the Committee, "as more desirous to rectify our own errors (if any) than to divulge other men's."

THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, July 24. Whitehall—Concerning the exchange of Captain Hatsell and John Waight, now prisoners in Jersey, for Captain Collins and Charles Pulleyne. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.*] Signed by Bradshaw.

Enclosing,

*Copy of certificate by Sir Philip Carteret, Lieut.-Governor of Jersey, agreeing to the exchange, dated July 14.*

COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

[1649, July 25. *Happy Entrance, Downs*].—Answer to their letter of the 23rd inst. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. under this date.*] Draft.

ROBERT COYTMOR TO [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, July 26. Whitehall—Captain Wilkinson of the *Increase* reports that lately on his return from Berwick to Tyne-mouth he descried two ships off Holy Island, which he visited and found in them much arms and ammunition. They told him they had bought them in London, but Captain Wilkinson, because he had no orders to stay any Scotch vessels, let them go. "Now you may perceive that the wicked party of the City of London do supply our enemies with arms against us."

I cannot but admire the weakness that would suffer them to go before he had acquainted the Council or Sir Arthur Hazlerigg. I pray, Sir, write a sharp letter to him and give him a check for his folly, but I am much afraid there is in it more knavery than folly.

Complaints have come to the Council from the chief men of Newcastle that eighteen or twenty of their colliers and merchant ships have been lately taken by two or three pirates, lying on that coast. I shall write to Peacocke to look more carefully to those parts.

\* *See Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-1650, p. 240.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, July 27. Aboard the *Charles* in Plymouth Sound—I have been at Bristol, to confer with the Lord General of Ireland. I approve of what you have done for the winter guard, but conceive that so active and diligent a man as Capt. Stokes cannot be left out, and therefore we must contrive some way for him. The emergencies upon the Irish coasts may peradventure give an occasion for the alteration of the guard in those parts, though I know not how you could have contrived the squadron better.  
*Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, July 31. The *Charles* in Plymouth Sound—In coming to this place, I received yours by my wife, “and give you many thanks for your respect to her, having put you to very much trouble.” I think your disposal of the winter guard is very well done, as far as I can judge at present. “I profess I have more load on my back than I can easily go through. Colonel Blake sends me word that all Rupert’s fleet is gone back to Kinsale town, and that they only keep five of their best sailers—as they say that come from the shore—to run away with; but whether it be a deceit to embolden us to draw off our great ships that they might wholly escape, I know not. I hope we shall be careful for to watch them.” *Signed.*

The COUNCIL OF STATE to the GENERALS AT SEA.

1649, August 2. Whitehall—Enclosing intelligence from Mr. Strickland. *Signed by Bradshaw.* [See *Cal. of S.P. Dom.*, same date.]

*Enclosing,*

*Thomas Cowell to John Day in London.*

1649, July 23. *Ostend—Giving particulars of men-of-war and prizes brought in there, which grieved the writer deeply.*

COLONEL DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, August 3. Plymouth Sound, aboard the *Charles*—It seems Mr. Coytmor opens the letters we send each other, though we give an account at the same time to the Council of State, which I judge very unfit. Captain Ball reports that the siege is raised from before Dublin and a party of the enemy’s horse is come over to Colonel Jones. I send you a letter from your wife, which came to me from London this day. I am much obliged to you for your care of mine. I wish we had been so happy as to meet, but seeing it is otherwise, we must be content.  
*Signed.*



COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to the COMMITTEE OF THE ADMIRALTY.

1649, August 3. On board the *Charles* in Plymouth Sound—I received a letter from the Council of State of July 31 [*see Cal. of S.P. Dom. of that date*] intimating that they have given order to the Navy Committee to accept my bills, although they hoped our former allowance would have been sufficient. By the account I sent their Lordships, you will see that the charges will amount to 7,000*l.* at the least. I assure you “I am not ambitious in handling of moneys, nor to be called off from other service to such an extraordinary trouble and almost impossibility as providing such a quantity of victuals in so short a time at this season. I could heartily have wished that some other better accountant and more able had been employed . . . but though I should not husband all things to that exact advantage as some others whose daily work it is, yet I assure your honours I do as much therein as my capacity will reach to.”

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, aboard the *Happy Entrance* in the Downs.

1649, August 7. Aboard the *Charles* in Plymouth Sound—“I purpose to set sail to-morrow with about twenty sail of ships, which I have taken up in these parts for the transportation of the army into Ireland. The *Satisfaction*, with the *Hector*, I sent to Milford to convoy the colliers with ammunition. The *Fame*, alias the *Mayflower*, I have sent to Weymouth to man himself and get a Flemish bottom or two for the transport of the army.”

*Postscript.*—The States man-of-war, which was sent from Kinsale, I have found this day by examination to have landed powder at Scilly. Three or four of his company have confessed it upon oath, besides other things which will make him a prize.

ROBERT COYTMOE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, August 8. Whitehall—There is more than need of your presence here, for upon some difference between the master of the *Tiger* and the boatswain it grew to such a height that it raised a mutiny in the ship, the common men siding with the boatswain. The captain called a council of war by himself and his officers, which so inflamed the “brable” that he was forced to bring his ship into Yarmouth, and is in danger every hour that the boatswain and the common men will run away with the ship to the enemy. Captain Coppin is there as a guard, but he is not considerable against a ship of the force that the *Tiger* is, neither dare they meddle with the land soldiers lest they more and more inflame the common men. If this ship should revolt it would be a bad precedent, and therefore I pray you hasten up here.

## COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, August 13. Aboard the *Charles* in Milford Haven—"I am this day come to Milford Haven, and this day my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is sailed hence with about thirty ships towards Dublin." To-morrow I intend to sail either for Dublin or towards Munster, if the wind serve better for that coast. *Signed.*

## ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, August 13. Whitehall—Informing him that the Council of State have decided that the merchant ships shall continue in the service eight months [instead of six].

## ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, August 14. Whitehall—The inclosed is to acquaint you of more complaints from the North. "I doubt much of the loss and clamour that comes from thence is by the neglect of Captaine Peacocke, and the difference in his ship was by his lying ashore with his wife; so that all the inconvenience that comes to your commanders at sea is because they are too uxorious and mind that more than the trust reposed in them, for the *Heart* frigate was lost by it and the *Tiger* now in the same danger. Captain Harrison, who was wont to be the most vigilant man in writing of any of your commanders, I have not heard from him this month, for I am informed that about a month ago his wife went down to him. I beseech you, Sir, give him a touch of it in time lest an inconvenience happen, which may not be remedied by writing. If you permit your captains to have their wives on board the State will suffer much damage by it, as it hath formerly to my knowledge."

## [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.]

[1649] August 14—Narrative of proceedings of the fleet, from this date until November 6.

Upon Tuesday, 14th August, I came aboard of the *Happy Entrance* in the Downs about three of the clock in the afternoon, I found there only the *Happy Entrance* and the *Mary Rose* of our ships. The *Mary Rose* came in that morning from Ostend with a convoy, the Captain of her informed me that he had met with a States man-of-war, the *Princess Maria*, bound for Milford with a convoy. The 15th I gave order to the *Mary Rose* to go with four ships to Dublin, to which purpose he was under sail with the first of the ebb at six in the morning, with the wind at s.s.w. and s.w.s. and likely to blow; his convoy refused to turn to windward with him, so he came to an anchor again. This day came in the *Satisfaction* with a convoy from Morleaux [Morlaix] of which he being discharged, I gave him order to take the convoy for Dublin into his charge, as likewise one bound to the Isle of

Wight, and three to Apsum, who came out of Holland under the convoy of the aforementioned States man-of-war, by the masters of which vessels I was informed that the States man-of-war rode still at the Ness, that he had several English gentlemen on board of him, and that the Captain's name was Yemball, of whom I had an intimation that after he had carried his convoy to Milford he was to do some service for the enemy in Ireland.

The 16th I took the *Happy Entrance* and the *Mary Rose*, and stood to the westward with the wind at w.s.w. and plied it up as far as the Ness, to see whether we could light on this States man-of-war, and gave order to the Captain of the *Satisfaction*, who stayed behind in the Downs (there being two States men-of-war more in the Road), if he saw them make way to set sail after me, to require them to stay, but if they would not, to make haste to weigh and to accompany them till he met with me; but, when we come to the Ness, we found them gone thence, and so we returned into the Downs again, with the wind at s.s.w. The 17th we continued in the Downs, with the wind at n.n.w. The 18th, the wind at n. and between that and the n.w. I sent away a packet at past ten in the forenoon from aboard the *Entrance* in the Downs to Mr. Coytmor, &c., with eight warrants to the North squadron to receive their victual of Mr. King of Yarmouth, and two bills of exchange for 200*l*. About three in the afternoon the wind came up at s.e. and s.s.e. The 19th the wind continued southerly. The 20th, the wind at s.e., the *Adventure* towards the evening came into the Downs from the westward. I ordered her to stand over and range along the coast of Flanders, from thence to Yarmouth, and so into Chatham. The 21st, the wind at s.e. I set sail for the northward with the latter end of the moving of the flood. The 22nd, the wind at s.e. easterly, we were off Aldborough, in the morning we met with the *Tiger*, the *Greyhound*, the *Hart* and the *Lily*. The *Lily* I brought with me into Yarmouth Roads, where we anchored that night. The 23rd the wind came up at n.n.w. I remained in Yarmouth Roads that day. The 24th the wind came up at e.s.e. and s.e., so I set sail to the northward with a fleet of colliers bound for Newcastle. The 25th the wind continuing at e.s.e. we met with a collier off the Spurn Head, who informed me that he had been taken by a small Jersey man-of-war of four guns and pillaged, and that he had taken another ship and had carried her away with him. I presently sent away the *Jermyn* frigate to look after him, with orders to stand away after me to Newcastle if he could hear no news of him in twenty-four hours, and I stood on my course with the colliers. The 26th the wind was at w. calm, about three in the afternoon it sprung up a gale at n.e. about ten at night we came to an anchor short off Tynemouth. The 27th about one in the morning the wind came up at n.w. westerly, about eight that morning, with the wind at w.n.w., we weighed and stood in for Tynemouth, and about ten in the forenoon we came to an anchor again under Tynemouth Castle; that night came out over the bar of Tynemouth between thirty and forty sail of London colliers bound to the southward, with

them about eight o'clock at night I set sail with the wind s.w. southerly. It blew very fresh all that night, and 28th the next day at s.s.w. We got as high as Scarborough, we met with four frigates, which we made to be men-of-war of the enemy's, and endeavoured to have spoke with them but could not, so we stood after a small boat which was in company with one of them, supposing it to have been his prize, he did what he could to have got away from us but at last we got within shot of him and made a shot at him, so he bore up to us; we sent our boat with an officer aboard of him, either the boatswain's mate or master's mate, who brought us word that it was one come out of Hull that morning light, bound for Sunderland for coal, and that the four vessels that we made for frigates came out of Hull along with him and belonged to that town, and were bound for Newcastle, but by their working they appeared to us to be men-of-war. About four in the afternoon the wind came up at n.w., so we stood away with our convoy for Yarmouth Roads. The 29th the wind continued northerly, and we our course with our convoy for Yarmouth; little wind till towards four in the afternoon, then the wind came up s.e. and s.s.e., about an hour before night we made land, which we conceived to be Blakeney. It began to blow hard, so we came to an anchor among the pits about eight o'clock at night, some eight or nine leagues off the shore. The 30th the next morning the wind came up at s.w. and blew hard, between seven and eight that morning we weighed, thick wet weather, and very much wind; we stood in for the shore, and between nine and ten of the clock it cleared up a little and we found the shore fair by us, we stood alongst the shore till we came off Hasborough, and there we anchored about twelve at noon. It blew a storm of wind at w. and w.s. all that day; we had sent off our boat with ten men to go to Winterton, and from thence that a man should go to Yarmouth by land, unless it proved fair weather, and then they were to go through to Yarmouth in the boat; that night between nine and ten o'clock, the wind came up at n.n.w. a very great storm. The next morning, the 31st, we intended to set sail for Yarmouth Roads, but the wind coming up at w.s.w. we rode still. That day about three in the afternoon came the *Warspite* to me, who came out of the Downs with a fleet of sixty sail of fishermen, he brought me a packet from Captain Penrose, we enquired of the captain of her whether he heard of our boat, he told us no, but that he heard there was a man-of-war's boat with about ten men in her cast away, which proved to be ours, they endeavouring to go to Yarmouth, contrary to their order, and only one man saved, who swam ashore; all that day the wind continued at s.w. The next morning, 1st September, the [wind] came up at w.n.w., and we weighed and stood in for Yarmouth Roads with the *Warspite*. About twelve that day we came to an anchor in Yarmouth Roads with very much wind at n.w. That day came in thither likewise the *Dragon*, the *Exchange*, and the *Magdalen*, with the Island [Iceland] fleet of fishery, the *Increase* met with them the day before and came in likewise with them. Towards

evening came in the *Jermyn* frigate from the n., and the *Lily* from the guard of the herring fishery. The next day, the 2nd, we rode still in Yarmouth Road, with the wind at the n.w. The 3rd the wind continuing at w.n.w. I gave out my orders to Captain Peacock for that squadron, and resolved to set sail with the *Lily* and *Warspite* and some colliers bound to Margate, Sandwich and Dover, to the southward; about nine o'clock that night we set sail accordingly with the wind at w.n.w., little wind. That night the wind came up at w.s.w., blew very hard, and we came to an anchor off Sole [Southwold] between twelve at night and one in the morning. The next morning, the 4th, we weighed again about seven of the clock with the wind at n.w. It blew a storm of wind all that day; about seven at night we came to an anchor in the Downs. The 5th, the wind came up at w.s.w. and s.w.; towards night it blew very hard at n.w. and n.n.w. The 6th, the wind continued at n.w., towards night at n., blew hard. The *War[spite]* came in from the n. and brought me word that the *George* and the *Unicorn* were at the Spithead. The 7th, the wind at n.w. and n.n.w., the *George* and the *Unicorn* came into the Downs. The 8th the wind came up at s.s.w., a handsome topsail gale. The *Mary Rose* set sail with a convoy for Holland; little wind all that day till towards the evening at s.e. it blew fresh. The 9th the wind came about to the s. and s. and by w., and blew fresh. The 10th, wind was at w.n.w., little wind in the morning; the *Constant Warwick* and the *Hind* frigate brought in a French commander of a small hoy, that had done much mischief; towards evening, at three of the clock, the wind came at n. and n.n.e., little wind. The 11th the wind came up at w.s.w. and s.w., and blew pretty fresh towards ten of the clock, and so continued that day. The 12th the wind came up at w.n.w. a great gale. The 13th the wind came up at n.n.e., n.e., and e.n.e. a gentle gale, fair weather. The 14th the wind was easterly, handsome topsail gale; about four in the afternoon we set sail, that night the wind came up to the s. of the e.s.e. The 15th the wind was at e.s.e.; we made the Isle of Wight in the morning, and stood in thither to speak with the *St. George* and took her along with us for Guernsey; about twelve o'clock that day we came to an anchor in Stokes Bay. Sent to the *St. George* to get an anchor aboard and to make way to set sail with us; about three in the afternoon we weighed again with the wind at e.s.e., made but little sail, expecting the coming of the *St. George*, who came not to us till past sunset, so it being late and not fit to go through the Needles with such great ships in the night, we anchored in Yarmouth Road. The next morning, the 16th, about seven o'clock, we weighed with the wind at e.s.e. and went through the Needles, and being clear of them stood over for the coast of France and that night anchored in the Bay de Lette between Cape de la Hague and Cape de Galette. The 17th, about six in the morning, with the wind at e., we weighed again and stood away for Guernsey, and about eleven of the forenoon we came to an anchor off the banks of Guernsey; when I came thither I found the alarm of the Prince's landing

at Jersey to be a false alarm. I that night sent away the *Constant Warwick* and the *Weymouth* pink to Jersey to look into every road and bay of the Island to see what shipping there was there, and if possible to bring me away a boat to learn intelligence from him. The 18th, in the morning I weighed, and with the wind at E.S.E. stood away for Jersey. About one of the clock we met with the *Constant Warwick* and the *Weymouth* pink, who had looked into the road at Jersey and there saw two States men-of-war, one hoy, and a small frigate under the command of the castle, but could not learn any intelligence from thence, and therefore I sent away the *Constant Warwick* to St. Malo's to see what he could get there, and with all speed to return to me again, either off Jersey, or upon the banks at Guernsey. That night we anchored off the road of St. Albins [St. Aubyn] on the south side of Jersey; and the next morning, the 19th, with the wind at S.S.E., we sent off the great shallop and our new little shallop with a dozen men, about five of the clock in the morning, to go in close to the shore to fetch me a fisherman or some other inhabitant of the Island to give me intelligence. I weighed and stood in towards the Island, and my shallop came off to me and brought away a boat, but the men all left her; then we discovered three small sails standing in towards Jersey; all the small vessels gave chase to them, but they got in amongst the rocks, where there was no coming for our vessels; one of them proved a small frigate of Jersey. We saw in the roads an indifferent big ship, which we guessed might carry twenty-four or twenty-six guns, she had Dutch colours and we supposed her a States man-of-war, one other small Flemish vessel, which, if a man-of-war, might carry about sixteen guns, and a small hoy; which by our intelligence we learned had been there above a fortnight. The wind was southward, and about nine of the clock in the forenoon we stood away again for the banks of Guernsey; on the west side of the Island is a great sandy bay, very commodious for landing of men; it is called St. Anne's Bay, there is very good riding with an E. wind, but a westerly makes a very great sea there. The 20th the wind was at S.S.E., towards night it came up westerly; that day the *Constant Warwick* returned from St. Malo's, who brought me word there was no States man-of-war there. The 21st the wind was at E.S.E., about noon it came to S.S.E. That day the *Constant Warwick*, the *Weymouth* pink, the *Eagle*, and the shallop went out towards Jersey. The 22nd the wind was at E.S.E., at S.E., and towards evening came at S.; about four of the clock in the afternoon the *Constant Warwick*, the *Weymouth* pink and the shallop returned and brought me word that there were two ships more come into Jersey, but they could not make what they were, it being so thick a fog. The *Eagle* went for Granville, about the same time came in the *Crescent* with the commissioners for Guernsey, and three vessels from Weymouth bound to St. Malo's. At ten that night I sent the hoy with a packet to Portsmouth. The 23rd the wind veered about to the westward of the south, at S. and by W. and S.S.W. The 24th the wind continued

southerly, and blew very hard; towards noon it came to the westward of the south, and so to the northward of the west till it came to N.W. and N.W. and by N., and blew very fresh. The 25th the wind was at N.N.W., a fine gale and fair weather. The 26th the wind came about to the S. and S. and by W. and S.S.W., a strong gale of wind. The *George* went out this morning with a convoy towards St. Malo's and was forced back with the southerly wind and came to an anchor about eight in the morning. The 27th, between five and six this morning, the wind came up at N.N.W., having blown a storm of wind all night at S.S.W. This morning my boat returning from the shore brought me word from thence that the *Crescent* the day before going into St. Sampson, was cast away on the rocks; so I sent Captain Badiley, Captain Thorogood, the carpenter and others to see whether she might be got off or no, if not, to get out of her what might be preserved for the State, who brought me word that she was bulged upon the rock, and would not be got off to be brought home, and that they had taken out her guns, rigging, ground tackle, &c., to be brought away. The 28th, the next day, the wind blew fresh at W.N.W. I sent off the boat away again to fetch away what was left in the *Crescent*. The 29th the wind came out S.W., and S.W., and by S., and blew hard; towards noon it flew back to the W.S.W. This day the *Eagle* returned about twelve o'clock at noon, having been at St. Malo's. The 30th the wind came up at S., little wind and fair weather, towards noon very thick and foggy; about one of the clock in the afternoon, it clearing up a little, we discovered two ships coming from Jersey and shortly after another, whereupon I commanded the *George*, the *Constant Warwick* and the *Weymouth* pink to weigh and stand towards the cape to see if they could meet with them; I cut my cable by the hawser and left my cable and anchor behind; that evening about seven o'clock I came up with one of the ships, which proved to be a French vessel come from Alexandria bound for Newhaven [Havre-de-Grace], in France, who was the day before by extremity of weather forced into Jersey, and that morning came thence with two States men-of-war; it growing very thick and dark, the pilot was unwilling to adventure through the Raze, so we and the *George* anchored that night three leagues short off the Raze. The first of October, as soon as it was light, we set sail with the wind at S.S.W. I sent the *George* towards the Downs, and myself stood towards Portsmouth, to seek out the *Constant Warwick* and the *Weymouth* pink and the States men-of-war. That night we anchored three leagues short of St. Ellens [St. Helens]. The 2nd we weighed about seven in the morning with the wind at E.S.E. and S.E., and stood in towards Portsmouth to take up our boat, whom I had sent ashore the night before with a packet and to enquire for the hoy; and that night stood away for the Downs with the wind at S., which came afterwards to S.W., and so continued a good handsome gale all that night. The next morning, the 3rd, we were fair by Beachy by six of the clock, with the wind at S.W. and by W.; that night we got into the Downs,

where I found the *St. Andrew*, the *George*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Dragon*, the *Hind*, the *Paradox*, who came the day before into the Downs, and came from Kinsale the 26th of September, where he left Colonel Blake with the *Lion*, the *Garland*, the *Elizabeth*, *Nonsuch* and *Guinea* frigate; here I understood the *Triumph*, the *Victory* and the *Charles* were gone into Portsmouth. The 4th the wind continued at s.w., blew fresh. I ordered the *Andrew* to put a month's victuals into the *George* and go into Chatham. The 5th, the wind at s.s.w., a fresh gale, I ordered the *Happy Entrance* to go into Chatham; I came aboard the *George*, and she set sail. I likewise ordered the *Dragon* and the *Paradox* to lie off and on upon the coast of Flanders, to carry a convoy thither and to bring one thence. The 6th the wind was at s.w., it blew very hard. In the morning came in the *Unicorn* from Portsmouth, having stayed there near three weeks for beer in the room of that that stank, in the afternoon came in the *Hercules*, who was ordered to come this way with a convoy of colliers from Ireland, but of twelve that came out with him he brought in only two. I ordered the captain of him to go up into Lee road to provide himself with two months' victuals more, and to convoy a ship of the merchants bound for Rotterdam, and to stay there eight or ten days and return with her and what other convoys were ready there, and to bring back Mr. Strickland from thence. [See letter of Council of State, Cal. of S.P. Dom., under date October 3, 1649.] The 7th the wind was at s.s.e., but it did not continue there long, but came back to the s.s.w. at s.w. The 8th the *Hercules* set sail for Lee Road with the wind at s.s.w. The 9th the *Andrew* set sail with the wind at w.s.w., that night the wind came up at n.w. The 10th, the next morning, with the wind at n.e. and e.n.e. the *Mary Rose* set sail with the convoy to the Bay of Biscay, and the *Fellowship* came down with her convoy for Ireland and went away presently without anchoring here. In the afternoon the *Lily* came in from the northward; it blew much wind, we could not speak to him. The 11th the wind came up northerly, at n.n.e. I sent away the *Lily* into Dover Road with order to convoy the packet boat to Calais, who accordingly went, but by extremity of weather was forced back again. The next morning, the 15th, it blew very hard at n.e. a storm of wind all day. The *Old Warwick* came in hither and the *Dragon*, but the *Dragon* was forced from her anchors by the storm and went westward; all that night it blew very hard. The 13th the wind continued at n.e. and blew hard. The 14th the wind duller and blew but a gentle gale at e.s.e. and came about to the s.s.e. This day I sent away the *Lily* into Portsmouth to be paid off and laid up; the *Paradox* came in this day, who being very defective and her victuals drawing towards an end, I resolved to send her in to be surveyed at Chatham, and, if found fit, to be hastened out, otherwise to be laid up. The 15th the wind was at e.s.e., fair weather, little wind. This day I sent away the *Old Warwick* with a convoy to Ipswich, and having but a week's victuals, if the wind took him short that he could not return



to me, I ordered him to go in with his frigate to Deptford to be paid off. I likewise this night sent away the *Unicorn* with a convoy first to Calais, then to the Seinehead with two other vessels, and so to return to me again. The 16th the wind was at E., a little northerly, a pretty handsome fresh gale and fair weather. The 17th the wind was at N.E., a handsome gale. The 18th the wind still continued N. I that day sent in the *Paradox* frigate to Deptford and to convoy some vessels from Dover to London. The 19th the wind came up at N.N.E., and from thence to the N. and N.N.W., and back again to the N.N.E., and blew very hard. The 20th the wind continued N. between the N.N.W. and the N.E.N. The 21st the wind was at N.E., E.N.E. About noon it came up at s. calm, about three in the afternoon it came back again to the N.N.E., and blew pretty fresh. The 22nd, about two of the clock, it came up at N.N.W., N.W., and so to the w.s.w., where it remained most part of the day, little wind. About three of the clock in the afternoon the *Adventure* came into the Downs. The 23rd the wind blew back again to the N. and N. and to E. This day the *Greyhound* came in, whom I instantly sent away to Bulloigne (Boulogne) road, where I heard some Irish men-of-war were, the *Adventure* I sent this day to secure the herring fishermen, and the *Thomas*, who likewise came in this day, I sent away to the Seinehead with a convoy. Wednesday, the 24th of October, the wind came up at N.W. and N.W. and by W. and W.N.W. This day the *Greyhound* came over from Bulloigne road, where he found none of the enemy's frigates as was informed. The 25th the wind continued northerly, N.N.W. and N.W. That day I had notice of an Irish man-of-war that lay hovering about the North Foreland. I sent out the *Greyhound* on the back side of the sands to see if he could light on him. The 26th, the next morning, the wind came up southerly and S. and by W., fair weather, little wind. This day the *Unicorn* came in from the westward. The 27th the wind was at S.W., pretty fair weather, and a handsome gale withal. The 28th the wind still continued at the S.W. This morning came in the *Greyhound*, the *Adventure* and the *Thomas*, and the *Hind* frigate with a convoy from the Seinehead to London; this day I likewise dispatched away the *Greyhound* to be a convoy to two ships of the Merchant Adventurers bound to Hamborough. The 29th the wind came up something more westerly at W.S.W. This day came in the *May Flower* hoy from Guernsey, whom I sent away with a convoy for London. The 30th the wind came up easterly, fair weather and little wind. I sent away this day the *Adventure* to range along the coast of France and Flanders, and so over again upon our coast as far as the Hope, and after three or four days to return to me again into the Downs. The 31st the wind came about to S.S.E. and S. and S.S.W. a handsome gale; that day I sent away the *Hind* frigate to convoy some vessels into the river from Margate and to return again with all speed. The 1st of November it was very calm fair weather, little wind, that that was was at S.W. The 2nd the wind was at W.S.W. a fine gale, but fair weather. The 3rd the wind was at

s.e., thick foggy weather, little wind. This day came in the *Hind* from the river and the *Adventure* from ranging the coast. The 4th, the next morning, the wind was at s.e., and s.s.e. and s.s.w. The 5th was at s. westerly, and w.s.w. towards the afternoon, and at evening to the n. of the w. The 6th the wind came up at n. and n.n.e., towards noon at e.n.e., and afterwards to the southwards of the east. [*In Colonel Popham's handwriting.*]

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY TO COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, August 15. Navy Office—Directing him to inform the commanders of the various merchant ships employed in the service of the State that they will be continued out for eight months, and are to victual themselves accordingly. *Signed by* Thomas Smith, Peter Pett, and William Willoughby.

[COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM] to the COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY.

1649, August 16—Answer to the above. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.*] *Copy.*

[COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM to the COUNCIL OF STATE.]

1649, August 16. Aboard the *Happy Entrance*—I am infinitely troubled to hear of our loss off Flamborough Head. I had heard of some distemper amongst the company of the *Tiger* and that her captain had to bring her into Yarmouth and to keep the *Greyhound* with him “during which time the great spoil was done upon our merchants’ ships by the pirates.” I should have gone myself had I not heard from the Captain that the ringleader and principal actors were secured on shore, his men very well settled and he gone to sea, where I hope he will hereafter look better to the securing of the coast. At the beginning of the year I sent a ship or two to lie off Ostend, where they did very good service, but in my absence they were recalled, and I have never been able to send any in their place until Monday last, when I sent the *Constant Warwick* and the *Weymouth* to look after those rogues, of whom I am confident they will give a good account. *Copy.* [*For the letter to which this is the answer, see Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1649-1650, p. 278.*]

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, August 23. Dublin—Announcing his arrival at Dublin with eighty-four sail, having in vain tried to “recover Munster and the bay of Kinsale,” and stating that all the troops are safely landed. *Copy.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, August 23. Dublin—I perceive that you have taken great pains to have spoken with me, and I as much desired it,

but it seems you were prevented "with an alarm from London with Swedes, Danes, &c., invading of us." You may be sure, if wind and weather permit, that when I have sent Sir George Ayscue up to Kinsale we will send you a couple of great ships into the Downs.

*Postscript.*—"I perceive that my Lord Lieutenant will write to the Council of State to move for Colonel Blake to be Major-General of the foot. I wish we may have as honest a man in his room if it so be."

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, August 23. Whitehall—I have received letters which inform me that the Lord Lieutenant left Milford for Dublin on the 13th inst. with four thousand horse and foot; also that Major-General Ireton left the next day with the like force for Kinsale. The House has passed an Act that no French wine shall be brought into the country, the French having prohibited our merchants from bringing any woollen cloth or stuffs into France.

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, August 25. Whitehall—The Lord Governor has landed at Dublin with thirty-five sail, which carried two thousand foot and a thousand horse, and the day following Major-General Ireton went to sea with seventy-seven sail for Munster. You will receive letters from the Council [*see Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1649-1650, p. 290*] to ride before Ostend and Dunkirk with the two second-rate ships. How unfit those great ships are to ride before Ostend I believe few of the Council know. I have written to Colonel Deane and Colonel Blake to spare you some of the frigates, "for I have acquainted them that Ostend, Newport and Dunkirk are now become worse than Argeere."

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, September 1. Aboard the *Charles* in Bullock Road—Sending him the *St. Andrew* and the *Bonaventure* under the command of Sir George Ayscue, who wishes to go to London on his own affairs. *Signed.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 6. Whitehall—Captain Wiltshire's ship, the *Jonas*, is come in "by reason of the mutiny of his mariners, who would not stay out any longer. The ship is ordered to be paid off and the wages suspended of such of the mariners as were the ringleaders, and to secure their persons if they see cause." The company of Captain Coppin's ship, the *Elizabeth*, are of the

same mind and refuse to continue any longer in the service. "This is an ill-example and there must be some present course taken with these men lest it should spread further."

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 8. Whitehall—The occasion of my writing to you is to acquaint you with an intercepted letter which discovers the whole Levelling plot. Your Honour may give warning to the Governors of the three castles in the Downs and likewise to Captain Billiers, Deputy-Governor of Dover Castle, that they may keep a careful watch. "The most distempers that doth yet appear is in Oxford, for there are four or five companies that have seized on their commanders and officers. The Lord General and his Council of War met this morning about them and have taken a course to send forces to quell them."

#### COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, September 10. Whitehall—Reference of the petitions of George James, Thomas Stone and other merchants trading to Biscay to the Committee of the Admiralty. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. of this date.*] *Enclosed are the two petitions of the merchants which are mentioned as having been sent to Colonel Popham in a letter of the Council of State calendared under date September 11.*

COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, September 10. Off Kinsale Bay—I doubt not but you have heard that a considerable part of the army on their way hither were by contrary winds forced into Dublin. "As for the posture of the enemy in Kinsale we understand that the Scottish man and a flyboat lie ready to come forth, whose intention we shall with God's assistance endeavour to prevent."

SIR HENRY VANE, jun., to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, September 12—I have received two letters from you, one concerning Mrs. Cave, the other about the pirate lately taken. For the first, as soon as my father comes to town, I will let you know my opinion; for the other I have acquainted the Council of State, as you desired, who have often prayed the House to have something done about the trial of mariners, but till you write to the House yourself nothing will be done. "We are hotly alarmed with the Prince's landing at Jersey and that he is come in the two Dutch ships we have formerly given you notice of. It is much wondered at that you have had no ships to intercept him, and therefore it will concern you to speed away some ships and those of strength that way to watch over the Prince's motions

and to hinder any more transportation of men from France that way. You must be very watchful in this business, for all men expected to have had the first notice of such a business from yourself.

*"Postscript.*—Colonel Deane writes me word that he has sent you so many ships into the Downs that he thinks the two great ships might have been spared. If it be so, pray let us know."  
*Holograph. Seal with arms.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, September 12—I have served the State seven months and have as yet received nothing at all. Anything that may be claimed in the way of gratuities is due to your secretary, Mr. Robinson. The fees of the clerks and officers of the Council of State have been long since settled and paid quarterly. Mr. Frost himself has his 4*l.* a day and indeed deserves it, for he takes a great deal of care and pains about State affairs. His eldest son, that attends with him in the Council, has 3*l.* a day. His other two sons and two clerks a noble a day each, the messengers 5*s.* a day, with 6*d.* a mile when they ride, and the doorkeeper a noble a day. I intreat you to write to Sir Henry Vane, Colonel Walton and others of your friends in the Council to ask them to give me a fitting allowance. If they think 300*l.* too much I beg for 250*l.* or what they conceive fit.

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, September 13. Whitehall—In my letter last night "I doubt me I did mistake in saying that the old man was allowed 4*l.* a day and 3*l.* for his son, when indeed the father has but 40*s.* a day, and his eldest son 20*s.* and all the rest of his clerks a noble."

The SAME to [the SAME].

Same date and place—Complaining of the slackness of the postmasters of Southwark and Dartford in the performance of their duties.

COLONEL E. POPHAM to SIR H. V[ANE].

1649, September 14—Yours of the 12th I received last night late, giving me notice of the Prince's landing at Jersey and that it is much wondered at that he was not prevented. In answer to which I must acquaint you that I had but three ships of any considerable force—the *Happy Entrance*, the *Mary Rose* and the *Constant Warwick*—until the *George* and *Unicorn* came down, and they are so ill-manned as to be of little use. The ships Colonel Deane sent me are the *Leopard*, the *Bonaventure* and the *Adventure*, whose eight months are done, and they are to

be brought into dock and fitted for the winter guard. There was no serviceable ship but the *St. Andrew* and that remains at Plymouth. Would you or any man imagine that the army being so long landed in Ireland they should send no more ships from thence? You would do well to move the Council of State to send to Colonel Deane and Colonel Blake to send some ships from thence to Guernsey. I am confident there is not a States man-of-war which you have given us notice of but we have been aboard of, and I believe those very ships before they took in the Prince, but carrying nothing with them which might give cause of suspicion. Many inconveniences might have been prevented had Colonel Deane, Colonel Blake and I fully understood one another's minds, which by letters we cannot do. *Copy.*

*Written on the back of a petition from John Williams and John Mathews of Dover, for the restoration of their boat, seized by Captain Baddeley.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 14. Aboard the *Charles* in Milford Haven—I set sail from Dublin on the second. Just out one of our seamen fell from the main top mast upon Captain Wildey and me and hurt us shrewdly, so that I was unable to turn in bed for many days, but blessed be God we are all three—the man who hurt us and we two—reasonable well. Three days ago went away the last of the Lord Lieutenant's army. I have sent you a copy of Rupert's letters to Ormond and his answer before the rout, by which you may partly guess their condition. These letters were taken in Ormond's cabinet and my Lord Lieutenant gave them to me. *Signed.*

COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, September 16. Aboard the *Lion* off the Old Head—I have received a letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, inviting me with much affection to be Major-General of his foot and telling me that he has written to some friends in London to obtain it. It was a strange surprize—greater than that of my present employment, which although it was extremely beyond my expectations as well as merits I was soon able to resolve upon by your counsel and friendship. This resolution remains the same and I pray you that if the motion be not yet made public “you will interpose your interest for the prevention of it or to oppose it if it shall be, that I may not be brought to that great unhappiness as to waive any resolution of Parliament, which in this case I shall be constrained to do. . . . I desire from my heart to serve the Parliament in anything I can, so I shall account it an especial happiness to be able to serve them in that conjunction which they have already placed me. If they please otherwise to resolve I shall be content with a great deal more cheerfulness to lay down the command than I took it up, and in private to contribute the devoutest performances of my soul for their honour and prosperity.”

COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

Same date—Informing him that he has sent the *Triumph* and *Victory* back to England, both being leaky and the men on the *Victory* in a very sickly condition. *Signed*.

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 18. Whitehall—"I believe by this time you find that there was no reality in the report of the Prince's being at Jersey. Both he and his brother were at St. Germain's on Monday was sennight and that afternoon they went away. Whether it was for Jersey or for Holland or which way they steered their course there is no certainty yet."

*Postscript*.—There is some doubts of a new rising in Kent. The business about the Holland trade is put off till your coming to London.

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, September 18. Aboard the *Phœnix* in Milford Haven—Captain Hewitt in the *Concord* is come from Bristol, bringing our provisions, and the Lord Lieutenant's household stuff. He tells me that the Lord Lieutenant's lady will not go over to Ireland this winter.

Captain Thompson in the *Mayflower*, like a hen with one chick, is also come hither with the ship he hired. I have sent him with Captain Wildey in the *Charles* to ply about Lands End, Scilly and the Start. *Signed*.

THE MAYOR and JURATS OF DOVER to the PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, September 20. Dover—The enclosed letters have been delivered to us by Elizabeth Whitewell, wife of a prisoner in Walmer Castle. They are written from Dunkirk by Mr. Luke Whittington, said to be the Prince's agent there, and one Captain Amy. The persons of whom they write are imprisoned here, not by us but by the Council of State. There are some poor men of this town prisoners at Dunkirk in an old leaky ship lying on the water, who humbly desire their liberty. *Copy. On the same sheet*,

*Luke Whittington to the Mayor of Dover.*

1649, September [13-]23. Dunkirk—Stating that he is employed by his Majesty of Great Britain about his maritime affairs; that he has imprisoned certain masters of ships; and that he means to keep them until his Majesty's true and faithful subjects, now in prison in Dover and elsewhere, are released. *Copy. Also*

*The Same to the Same.*

1649, September [14-]24. *To the like effect. Copy.*

JOHN SMYTHIER and FRANCIS BACON to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, September 21. Ipswich—We have received the enclosed letter from Dunkirk. Lambley and Lavenick are men of great use for the trade of this town and much wanted here. *Copy. On the same sheet,*

*Luke Whittington to the Bailiffs of Ipswich.*

1649, September [11-]21—*Offering to exchange William Lamley and John Levenicke for Captain Fairweather and Mr. Aubeny. Copy. Also*

*Thomas Amy to the Mayor of Dover.*

1649, September [15-]25. Dunkirk—Amongst his Majesty's loving subjects [prisoners] in your town "are fourteen of my men, who I am informed have the large allowance of one whole penny a day, besides other usage correspondent thereto, things more becoming Turks than Christians; but I now plainly see it is the destruction of the King's party is aimed at, wherefore we are resolved on a timely prevention, and I believe you will shortly hear how dexterously we imitate your barbarous cruelty. I have now, amongst others, got six of your town, two of which I have caused to be chained, as you have done William Milgrum and Robert Mackrow; and be assured that if the least of our party perish in prison or otherwise, twenty of yours shall suffer for it here. Besides, yours being a seaport, we may doubtless snap more, who shall see that we shall as little regard the murdering of a rebel as you the starving of loyal subjects." But if you will set Milgrum and his company free you shall have exchange of man for man. *Copy.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 22. Aboard the *Phoenix*, Milford Haven—"I perceive by Mr. Coytnor that you are gone to Jersey, where he tells me Mr. Charles Stuart is. You take notice by Major Robinson's that the Lord Lieutenant is not like with his army to march to Munster this two months and you desire me to use all my interest with him and Ireton about it and say you are sorry they are no more sensible of that place, to all which he pleased to receive this answer. My Lord and the gentlemen with him are as sensible of the consequence of Kinsale and the ships as we can possibly be, and first we endeavoured with the greatest part of the army to have landed there when Ireton and I were as high and [sic] Youghall, but the wind took us short and we were forced for Dublin, where they had so deep a resentment of the business of Munster that they had appointed four regi-



ments of foot to be reshipped and Ireton with two thousand horse and dragoons to have gone through all the enemy's quarters by land thither, and sent for me and desired me to provide shipping accordingly. But Sir Charles Coote's brother coming at the same time from Londonderry and acquainting them that Owen Roe O'Neale might probably, as he had hope then, [turn *erased*] the balance if the Parliament would not accept of him—which my Lord was sure they would not—in joining with the enemy and in regard that Trymme and Tredath [Drogheda] were the two garrisons that would destroy all the whole country between them and Dublin if my Lord should march southerly, and that all Ulster would—as also what Sir Charles Coote had got in Connaught—be left if Owen Roe did turn to the enemy and those garrisons in the enemy's hands. Besides I must confess it was not my opinion that it was safe for the army to ship again at this season of the year, which is so subject to blowing, that if we should be scattered and forced into England probably they would run most of them away and so endanger the loss not only of that design but also of the whole business of Ireland. But now it hath pleased God to give them Tredath, Trimme and Dundalk, as you may perceive by the enclosed from my Lord to me, they have nothing in their eyes so much as Munster.

And I doubt not but the Lord will give a blessing to their endeavours.

This day I received notice from Colonel Blake that he hath sent the *Triumph* and the *Victory* in. And truly it is my opinion they should go quite in—as you may perceive by my letter, the enclosed to the Council of State—for the great ones going in, the lesser may be continued out the longer and put the State to no more charge.

I am now sailing for Grenor Bay and the Bar of Wexford, where I hope to meet the Lord Lieutenant and part of his army."

#### ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, September 22. Whitehall—Captain Moulton with the *Victory*, Captain Hall with the *Triumph* and Sir George Ayscue with the *St. Andrew* will be in the Downs with the first westerly wind.

The Council of State have appointed the *Mary Rose* to convoy the merchant ships to Bilbao, but Captain Penrose hath made excuse that his ship is foul and in want of stores, which Sir Henry Vane does not take well from him. *Signed.*

#### SHIPS.

1649, September 22—A list of 23 ships in the Irish seas or lately sent thence.

## COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL POPHAM..

1649, September 26. Aboard the *Lion* off the Old Head—Upon the *Triumph* and *Victory* leaving this coast I wrote acquainting you with the condition of the fleet. The *Paradox* frigate, under command of my brother, being not fit for service on this coast I have sent to Colonel Deane at Green Ore Bay, and if he find him not there to repair to you at the Downs for further disposal. As for affairs here I know nothing otherwise than what I wrote you formerly, not doubting but you have heard of the success which God hath been pleased to give our forces in taking of Drogheda, &c. I shall with God's assistance do my utmost endeavour to keep plying off and on this bay for deterring the enemy's issuing forth. *Signed.*

## ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, September 27. Whitehall—"Sea affairs go on but slowly here, like the Egyptian chariots in the Red Sea." In my opinion, if one of you were here once a month, you would further maritime affairs far more than by being abroad. The Council of State leaves it to you to dispose of the great ships that are at Guernsey and to put others in their room. The sooner you come away with those two unruly ships the better, "being as dangerous a place as you can be upon, in respect of the coast of France and the many rocks that are about those islands, besides the violence of the tides there, but whom you will leave commander-in-chief there I am not able to advise. The custom was heretofore that the senior commander of the State's ships should command in chief, and if you keep that rule then either Captain Young or Captain Pierce should command over the [captain of the] *Constant Warwick*, who is a stranger unto me, but by what I have heard he hath more capacity to manage the business than either of the other two, though I hold Young to be a very honest man, yet not fit for such a command." If you could put Captain Bodiley on board the *Dragon* or *Constant Warwick* to command in chief the business would be very well managed.

## COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, September 27. Dublin—Reporting the casting away of the *Tiger's Whelp* on Dublin bar and the condition and movements of the Irish fleet. *Copy.*

## WILLIAM MILDRAH or MELDRUM and others to COLONEL POPHAM.

[1649, September, Dover]—Petitioning for their release by exchange or otherwise from the custody of Henry Tiddeman, serjeant of the Admiralty, according to Captain Amye's proposal. *Twenty-three signatures.*

## ROBERT COYTMOR to SIR GEORGE AYS Cue.

1649, October 1. Whitehall—The enemy in Dunkirk have taken many of our ships of late and have written arrogant letters to Dover, Yarmouth, Hull and Ipswich, threatening how cruelly they would use all our men who are their prisoners if we did not discharge theirs; and, in pursuance of their wicked work, they have taken one or two of the colliers and laid them under the fort of Mardyke and made them a prison for our men, where they put them in irons and feed them with nothing but bread and water. Captain Coppin has offered to free these men and sink the ships, and the committee have moved the Council of State to recommend the matter to your care. "The good news that is come this day from the Lord Lieutenant is that the town of Drogheda was taken by a storm with the loss of about eighty men of ours—some letters say but sixty-four—and the officers of note are only Colonel Castle and Captain Symonds. Of the enemy put to the sword three thousand five hundred and fifty-four." We have taken Trim, Dundalk and Carlingford. Colonel Venables has gone to Lake Lisnegarve and then to join Sir Charles Coote to clear the province of Ulster. The Lord Lieutenant has gone with the other army to Washford [Wexford], which I hope he has taken before now, and so to Kinsale or Kilkenny. He will want more foot to garrison the places taken. "The brave town of Limerick have sent to treat with him upon composition, so I hope we shall have all Ireland brought under the obedience of this Commonwealth in a short time. The Lord make us thankful for all his mercies."

*Postscript.*—"The French begin to lose ground with the Spaniard and they have sent to us and promise us satisfaction for the many injuries done to us. This one is unparalleled—that they should admit of our ships to be brought and sold in Dunkirk as though they were lawful prizes. I hope the time is at hand when we shall pay them in their own coin." *Copy.*

## ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, October 2. Whitehall—The Council of State have given order at Portsmouth to make stay of all colliers that come from Ireland. You may guess what employment they are to be set upon.

There is news from Ireland of the taking of Carlingford and that Colonel Venables has joined with Sir Charles Coote to clear the province of Ulster, and the Lord Lieutenant is gone with the body of the army towards Washford [Wexford]. The last great storm has driven the *James*, *Blackamore Lady* and *Scotchman* out of Kinsale. It may be Rupert is gone in them. *Signed.*

## The SAME to the SAME.

1649, October 3. Whitehall—"I was to wait on your lady when that great storm was, but I would not acquaint her in what

danger you were in respect of that rocky place and the dangerous shoals on the French coast." It is desired that you will certify whether the *Thomas*, which has been condemned in the Admiralty Court as belonging to desperate malignants, is fit for the service of the State.

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, October 4. Whitehall—There is no certain news here of C[harles] S[tuart] being at Jersey but what came from yourself. The Council of State is informed that the *Unicorn* has ridden in Stokes Bay these three weeks and done no service at all. Sir Henry Vane commanded me to acquaint you with it and that you should send for her and employ her for the service of the State. *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, October 5. Whitehall—I have received a letter from one of your mad captains, Richard Ingle by name, from Zealand. He says his ship is no winter ship and that his victuals are spent. I think it will be no disservice to discharge him and the vessel for the present. Holland with the *Falcon* is discharged, whom I conceive to be such another commander as Ingle is. *Signed.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

1649, October 5. Greenor Bay—We arrived at Wexford on the 29th of September, and my Lord [Lieutenant] came with the whole army on the 2nd instant, the enemy having put into the town on the 1st a governor with fifteen hundred foot. The castle at the mouth of the harbour was quitted at the approach of the army. The Lord Lieutenant has summoned the town and they are in treaty. *Copy.*

IRELAND.

1649, October 5. Liverpool—"We hear here that upon the advance of my Lord Lieutenant's army towards Wexford, Wicklow was quit and left, and that the garrison also deserted Artlow [Arklow] Castle and put fire to it, but it was speedily quenched by some of the army and a strong garrison put into it. The castle is strong and stands upon a pass thirty-four miles from Dublin. Whether Wexford yield or hold out is not yet certain, the report at Dublin being that they intend to stand upon their guard and had received in three thousand more men.

Colonel Venables, being made Major-General of Ulster and Governor of Londonderry, and marching northward "his forlorn" was fallen upon by an ambuscade of nine hundred horse under Colonel Mark Trevor and the Lord of Ards and put to some

disorder, but the whole body then drew up and routed the enemy, taking five hundred prisoners and slaying fourteen or fifteen hundred, but Lord Ards and Colonel Trevor escaped. By others who were in Dublin on Wednesday we have the further addition "that upon the deserting of Artlow Castle three thousand of the enemy betook themselves to a bog and were all cut off and slain by our army, and that much shipping is observed to pass with people from Ireland towards Spain."

*On the same sheet.*

A list of the horse and foot in Drogheda upon the last muster :

Foot, besides officers 2,500.

Horse 220.

Eminent officers—Sir Arthur Aston, Colonels Waring [or Warren], Wall, Burne [Byrne], Flemmins [Fleming], and Sir Edmund Verney, two brothers of Lord Taaffe, Majors Butler, Williams, Dowdall and Tempest, Lieutenant-Colonels Dreyle [Boyle ?], Gray, Butler and Cavenagh, Captain Harbottle, Sir John Dungham [Dongan], prisoner, Captain Walter Dungham, Captain Edmund Fitzgerard, and Plunket, son to Lord Dun-saney.

The COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, October 6. Whitehall—Concerning prisoners at Dunkirk and directing him to prevent pirates from going in and out of that port. *Signed by Bradshaw.* [The order for the letter is calendared under date.]

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, October 6—I send you an information by one Little, that was a prisoner in the ship under Mardyke fort, by which you will see how easy it is to free those men and sink the ship. The Council has given orders to Sir George Ayscue accordingly. I hope he has acquainted you with them. Captain Coppin of the *Greyhound* offered to do the business himself.

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, October 8. Whitehall—Letters from Ireland bring news that three thousand of the enemy were placed in a narrow way near Ardo Castle to stop our army, "but they were beaten off and fled into a bog, which some of our old soldiers knew very well and went after them and cut them all off. We have another letter from the north of Ireland, which saith that Colonel Venables had a shrewd dispute with the Lord of Ards and Mark Trevor and he killed and took near two thousand men. So that the whole forces of the Lord of Ards and that party are quite defunct, and I hope the province of Ulster will be the Parliament's without any further opposition." *Signed.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, October 12. Whitehall—The letters you sent for Colonel Deane and Colonel Blake were inclosed in my packet to Mr. Robinson, but the post boy was met upon Hounslow Heath and robbed of his horse and all his letters. Some of them were taken up the next day upon the heath and yours have been sent to me to-day. "The French affairs are still in the same posture. The King and Queen in Paris and the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal are reconciled, as it is conceived, but the town of Bordeaux stand still upon their defence and are battering the castle there." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1649, October 18. Whitehall—I shall endeavour to hasten forth the *Recovery*, "but I am informed that some of the Commissioners have a design to cast her and so by that means have her for themselves or their friends. I have often acquainted you that the State cannot have faithful service done by them so long as many of them are owners of ships and practise the trade of merchandising, and some others of them are woodmongers and buyers and sellers of timber. If you will have the navy and Commonwealth faithfully served you must have the Commissioners free from such practices. I do not speak thus as though I would be one myself, for I bless God I am not, in regard of the dealing I have lately observed by them." *Signed.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1649, October 19. Whitehall—Your brother [Col. Alexander Popham] came to town with his lady to-day.

"You may be pleased to write a line or two to the Council of State for the setting forth the *Recovery*, for I understand that some persons have a design to buy her for merchant affairs. The captain and all the officers will certify that she is a new strong ship and will sail better than any of the prize ships." *Signed.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1649, October 19. Whitehall—There hath been one Lewis with me to recommend him to you for the place of purser in the *Bonaventure*. He was Captain Richard Cranley's man, and though he be my countryman I can give him no better character than I can give his master. You have made an order that every man should execute his place in his own person. If you put that in execution I believe he will leave the place. You have servants and followers of your own that, I believe, expect preferment.

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, October 22—"I may not be so free in writing unto you now as formerly. I pray you let not your clerk see those letters which I wrote to you touching some parties."

SIR H. VANE, jun., to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, in the Downs.

1649, October 22—"Upon some complaint to the Committee of the Navy about the abuse of convoys in the captains taking moneys and the like to the grievance of the merchants, the Parliament have referred it to the Council of State to consider for the future how certain ships may be allotted for convoys and that without charge to the merchants. It will be very fit you and me have our thought to set down some settled course in this matter. My father being not yet come to town I have not been able to do anything about what your mother petitions for." *Holograph.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, October 22. Milford Haven, aboard the *Phoenix*—The Lord Lieutenant with his army came before Wexford the first of this month and we with twenty sail came to the bar with the battering guns, bread and ammunition on the 29th of last month, but it blew so hard that we could land nothing for seven days. My Lord summoned the town, but received a dilatory answer—they hoping for relief from Ormond's forces—and on the 11th began his batteries, upon which they sent a trumpet to desire leave for some gentleman to come out, who brought articles, which no doubt you have seen. Before the Lieutenant's answer was sent in the governor of the castle, perceiving the cannon had made a great breach in it, offered to deliver it to us, provided they might have their lives and liberties, which were granted. We therefore delayed sending my Lord's answer until they saw that we had the castle, hoping they would surrender and that we might save the town. But as soon as the enemy perceived that our men were in the castle and fired into the town they began to run away from the walls, whereon they on the castle called to those by the batteries to fall on, and without orders or word they got ladders and climbed the walls and in half an hour we had possession of the town, with the loss of only seven men.

The enemy lost at least a thousand, slain or drowned.

On the 16th my Lord marched to Ross, and on the 18th the town surrendered upon articles. From Ross he marched on the 19th to Duncannon with what forces he could spare, and has sent for his battering guns to come to him by water.

CHARLES II.

1649, October 23. The Court at Castle Elizabeth in Jersey—A declaration to his subjects in the kingdom of England. *M.S.*

[*Printed copy amongst the King's Pamphlets, E. 578 (2), but dated October 31.*]

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, October 26. Whitehall—Informing him of the taking of Wexford and the surrender of Ross, and that Inchiquin had been refused entrance into Cork, Youghall, Dungarvan, and Bandon Bridge. *Signed.*

The SAME to [the SAME].

1649, October 27. Whitehall—A man-of-war lately took two fishermen's ships out of Rye Bay and chased four of them ashore, and would have carried them all away if sixty of the garrison of Rye had not come and driven them off. The committee desire you to order some vessel to guard the coast of Sussex.

*Postscript.*—"Lilburne was yesterday brought to his trial for publishing treasonable pamphlets, but acquitted for want of positive proofs." *Signed.*

The COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, October 27. Whitehall—Concerning the mischief done to merchant ships at the Canaries. *Signed by Bradshaw. See Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.*

*Enclosing,*

*Report by David Stephens that great damage is expected to be done to the vintage shipping by Captain Plunkett, who has come into the Canary Roads with an Irish man-of-war, bringing the Marquis of Ormond's and Lord Inchiquin's commission. Dated September 13th, 1649, Teneriffe. With note from Nic. Blake to Mr. Hill concerning the same.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, October 29. Whitehall—"I have received a letter from the Council of State unto you, which is a direction how the engagement shall be taken in each of the ships in the State's service. The committee are of opinion that you shall do well to order every man that subscribes the engagement to write also the place of his abode, which they conceive will be a further tie upon them. I am of opinion that Dover will supply you with parchment enough for rolls for as many ships as you shall cause to take the engagement." *Signed.*



SIR H. VANE, jun. and COLONEL VALENTINE WALTON to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, on board the *St. George* in the Downs.

1649, November 1—The letter from the Governor of Boulogne to the Parliament has been communicated as you desired, but “the direction was so slight, being à *Messieurs, Messieurs du Parlement d’Angleterre* that the Council thought not fit to have it delivered; and as you have occasion you may let the Governor know that the true direction to the Parliament is, *Aux très haut et très puissant, le Parlement d’Angleterre*, which you desire all letters sent to them by your hand may be in that manner directed.” *In Vane’s handwriting, signed by both.*

COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649, November 5. Cork Haven—On Saturday last I came into this harbour, being invited by a report that the town of Cork had declared for us and turned out Major-General Stirling, the Governor, which intelligence I found to be true. “There came to me Colonel Reeves, he who was formerly in Taunton Castle, Colonel Townsend and Colonel Blunt, with divers other gentlemen, actors in this business, in whom truly I find a great deal of gallantry of spirit.” God is still working for us, for while I am writing news comes that Youghall has again declared for us, and we have some hope of getting Kinsale shortly. *Copy.*

[The GOVERNOR OF OSTEND to COL. EDWARD POPHAM.]

1649, Nov. [6-]16. Ostend—I have received your Excellency’s letter, in which you are pleased to state your opinion of me for having admitted into this port a vessel taken by an Irishman, with fresh herring. There being here a convoy vessel belonging to your jurisdiction, the captain of which demanded from me the restitution of the said vessel, I answered him very courteously that I was heartily sorry not to be able to serve him in the matter, but that I had no authority in such business, which belonged to the Admiralty, although I would willingly help him as far as I could, as I have done all those who have made use of me from Parliament. It grieves me extremely that your Excellency has a different opinion concerning me, but I hope you will inform yourself of my conduct, and be pleased to consider me still as your servant. The prize-vessel with corn was taken by a Nieuport warship, whose owners are persons of high quality and credit, and have a patent from the King, my master, to do all the injury possible to the enemies of his Majesty and of his commerce. I hope your Excellency will look at this dispassionately, and give permission to the owners of the prize to convey her to the ports of Flanders. *Spanish.* [Compare Col. Popham’s letter of Nov. 12, *Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1649-50, p. 389.*]

## COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, November 8. Milford Haven—I received intelligence yesterday that Cork and Youghall are declared for the Parliament of England and upon that Rupert sailed in haste from Kinsale with seven ships. Which way he is gone we know not, but in all probability for the Straits, to meet the vintage coming home. My reason is that the Bishop of Derry was taken with two letters going from Rupert to Inchiquin, wherein Rupert writes that he stayed for Lord Musgrave\* and intended to see him out of danger on the French coast.

## The COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, November 10. Whitehall—We are satisfied it is necessary that the five hundred men appointed to go for Guernsey should be speeded away, which men we conceive are in good readiness, and we have given order that ships should be ready for them at Portsmouth. For the better expediting this service we desire you to repair to Portsmouth and Weymouth to see to the despatch of those forces, whereby the danger that may otherwise happen may be prevented. *Signed by Bradshaw.* [*The order for the letter is printed in Cal. of S.P. Dom., under date November 9.*]

## The COUNCIL OF STATE to the GENERALS AT SEA.

1649, November 16. Whitehall—For enabling the army in Ireland to carry on their work, there are five thousand foot recruits and a regiment of horse ready to be sent over, for the transportation of which we desire you to take up such ships as may be sufficient, and what you shall agree with them for, we shall take order it be paid. Three thousand foot and three troops of horse are to be shipped at Chester and Liverpool and the rest at Minehead, Appledore and Milford. We are informed there is no shipping at present “in Liverpool or Chester water,” and when any do come in they go out at pleasure for want of some ship of war to lie there to command them. “We desire you to use all expeditions for sending some shipping from those parts, for the want of men is so great in Ireland by reason of so many places taken that are garrisoned, that there must be a supply with more speed than shipping can now at this time of year be reasonably expected to come about.” *Signed by Bradshaw.*

## COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, November [16? Milford Haven]—Captain Fearnese of the *President* has come in from Knockfergus, “who tells me that that is an agreement between the Governor of that place and Sir Charles Coote that if he be not relieved within these ten days, that then he will deliver the town. Coleraine, I doubt

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\* Probably Sir Philip Musgrave is meant.

not but you have heard is taken, so that this place only remains of all the North of Ireland in opposition against the Parliament." I am now going for the coast of Ireland. *Signed. Torn.*

COLONEL JOHN PYNE to WILLIAM CLARKE, servant to Lord General Fairfax, at Whitehall.

1649, November 17. Curry Mallett—"What I wrote for my thoughts concerning the consequence of Lilborne's being acquitted was not without book, for I find his party to increase as well as insult and cry victory. The ministers, many of them they are mad on the other hand, I will give you a branch of a late petition of his prayer in the pulpit of one of them, viz.:—'Lord ever be good and gracious unto those who according unto our covenant engagement, ought to bear rule over us.' Besides, there hath lately passed an order in the House that all moneys for sequestrations shall be returned into Goldsmiths' Hall, so the committee of this county are now disabled to pay one penny unto anyone whatsoever, though never so deserving, whereas before, we did by paying and encouraging officers and soldiers in some part of their dues, we preserved the interest of the Parliament and army amongst them, notwithstanding many endeavours by some busy and powerful persons in this county to the contrary, but now the soldier begins to grow discontented, being apt to turn leveller, and the old deceitful interest under the notion of the Presbyterian party begins to rejoice and practise their old designs. These things considered, and if Sir Hardress Waller should be called with his forces from us, we should in these western parts be left in a very raw and unsettled condition, especially if it should prove true that the Prince is at Jersey with two thousand Swissers. We must submit unto God, who hitherto hath protected his people, though but a very small remnant comparatively with the multitude of enemies they are environed with.

I am very glad there are resolutions taken to proceed vigorously with the engagement, which I think will make a notable discovery and indeed rout amongst all professions and callings whatsoever, however for my own part I do swear all constables and tithingmen according unto the engagement. I have not heard a long time from Mr. Rushworth, I hope he is well."

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, November 23. Aboard the *Phoenix* in Milford Haven—I should have been gone two days since had we not been becalmed when we were under sail, "but I am glad I stayed to receive the good news of Sir Hardress Waller's forwardness towards the assistance of our friends in Ireland, who want more such hands to that good work. It troubles me that it lies not in my power to give him that assistance you desire," but if you order the *Adventure* and some other to call in at Plymouth I conceive they

may well both transport and convoy him and be a security to those western coasts, where there is much,—as I think,—causeless fear. *Signed.*

THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, November 24. Whitehall—We desire you to lay your commands upon the colliers to go to Chester and receive orders from Mr. Walley for transporting the forces there. When you have landed your soldiers at Guernsey we desire “that you face them at Jersey with your fleet and hover thereabout for some time, whereby you may annoy them at Jersey and trouble their counsels and retard their executions of what they shall resolve.” *Signed by Bradshaw.*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1649, November 29. Whitehall—Enclosing information concerning the depredations committed “by Rupert and other pirates” and directing him to take measures for the preservation of the merchants and for the suppression of the pirates. *Signed by Bradshaw. The order for the letter is in Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.*

THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO THE GENERALS AT SEA.

1649, December 1. Whitehall—“By the enclosed you will see what information we have received concerning the proceedings of Rupert at sea, taking and spoiling our merchants, whereby he will, beside the loss of particular men, much enrich himself and infest the seas, interrupt and destroy trade and diminish the customs, and also increase the fleet he already hath to a great number, which may prove of great difficulty to reduce if it be not presently undertaken.” We therefore recommend to your special care what use may be made of the winter fleet and to consider what ships of the Irish squadron may be employed in that service, and also how the mischief may be prevented, by taking the ships under his command. *Signed by Bradshaw. [Order for the letter in Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.]*

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1649, December 3. Whitehall—Directing them to send out a fleet of ten ships to find out where Rupert is and to reduce or destroy his fleet, a ship from Cadiz confirming the information that Rupert is in those seas and has sent to Spain to have liberty of the ports for disposing of his prizes and for victualling. *Signed by Bradshaw. [Order for the letter in Cal. of S.P. Dom., same date.]*

## COUNCIL OF STATE to [the GENERALS AT SEA].

1649, December 8. Whitehall—The paper of which enclosed is a copy has been presented to us from the Commissioners of the Navy and some of the Trinity House and approved by us. We have given orders to the Navy Commissioners to put the same in execution, and desire you to use all possible expedition in getting the squadron out to sea.

*Enclosing,*

*Navy Commissioners and others to the Council of State.*

1649, December 7. Navy Office—Offering suggestions in regard to the squadron to be put forth for the southward, in accordance with the order directed to them [by the Admiralty Committee. See *Cal. of S.P. Dom.*, under date December 6.] With a list of the ships fit for the service. Copy.

## ADMIRALTY COMMITTEE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649, December 9. Whitehall—Stating that they have conferred with the Navy Commissioners and suggesting certain ships to be a fleet to attend Rupert's motions. Signed by Sir Henry Vane, jun., and Colonel John Jones. [Printed in *Cal. of S.P. Dom.*, but under date December 1st.]

## The COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649, December 13. Whitehall—Directing him to give Captain Sherwin a commission as commander of the *Hind*. Signed by Bradshaw. [See *Cal. of S.P. Dom.*, under date December 12.]

## The ISLE OF WIGHT.

[1649]—Proposition for the establishment of the castles and forts in the Isle of Wight, viz.:—Carisbrooke Castle, Cowes Castle, Sandham [Sandown] Fort, Yarmouth Castle, Caries Sconce, Bembridge Fort, Netleyheath and Gurnard. Signed by Tho. Boverman, Edm. Rolph and John Baskett.

## ROBERT COYTMOR to CAPTAIN BADILEY.

1649[-50], January 3—Informing him that his letter respecting Prince Rupert's proceedings has been laid before the committee and has given them more light than they had hitherto had.

## WILLIAM PUREFOY to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649[-50], January 9—Asking that his kinsman, who is on board the *Leopard* "in the condition of a common man," may

be preferred to some employment "suitable to his experience and former services." *Seal of arms.*

HUGH MORRELL to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649[-50], January 11. London—Two vessels, worth 40,000*l.*, have been taken by Captain White [*see Cal. of S.P. Dom., January 15th, 1650*]. Seventeen arch rebels have been let free out of Dover gaol and have gone to Calais, and Captain Bing is let out of Newgate. Two or three keepers ought to be hung up for such acts.

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONELS POPHAM and BLAKE.

1649[-50], January 12. Whitehall—The Commissioners have orders to make ready twenty ships with all speed, "for we hear the French are preparing to meet with our fleet by the extraordinary manning of their own, as you will perceive by Keyser's letter enclosed. I fear nothing but that your fleet is too weak to go into the Straits." The money is all on board the *Constant Warwick*, and she is fallen down into the Hope already. *Signed. Enclosing,*

*Captain Thomas Keyser to Colonel Edward Popham at Whitehall.*

[16]49[-50], January 10—*Informing him of his arrival from Seine-head and that there were great naval preparations being made in France, where it was the common talk that Prince Robert [Rupert] and they would join; and urging him not to allow the ships designed for the Straits to go forth ill-manned.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONELS POPHAM and BLAKE.

1649[-50], January 12. Whitehall—My packet was ready when Mr. Scott came and wrote the enclosed, and also willed me to acquaint you by word of mouth that it was the Council of State's opinion as well as his "that you should do well to send forth a ship of force to range along the coast to see whether they can meet with the Holland ship that carries back the Laird Liverton [Liberton] from Jersey, and that he may be narrowly searched in case he be surprized."

*Enclosing,*

*Thomas Scot to Colonel Edward Popham.*

1649[-50], January 12. Whitehall—*Captain Keyser has given information "that upon the Lord Libburton's return from Jersey there will probably an opportunity offer itself for understanding the effect of his negotiation, and the return he has got. Now truly, considering it is from the Prince, a declared enemy of this Commonwealth, I know no cause of*

*tenderness therein but that if he comes in your way he may be visited, and if there be anything of concernment to or design against this Commonwealth that you please to cause it to be transmitted hither with all due speed."*

[COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE.]

[1649-50, January 17]—Instructions for the General appointed to command the fleet for the southern expedition.

*Printed in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 134.*

THE NAVY COMMISSIONERS to the GENERALS OF THE FLEET at Portsmouth.

1649[-50], January 21. Navy Office—Concerning the fitting out and despatch of the southward fleet and the difficulty of obtaining merchant ships for the summer guard. *Three signatures.*

ROBERT THOMSON to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649[-50], January 21. Navy Office—I have propounded your letter to Captain Goslin, but he wholly declines to be made commander of any merchant ship over another man's head, who has more right to it than he. I fear that if you do not give leave to masters to go as commanders of their own ships you will lack fitting men to command more than ships.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1649[-50], January 24. Whitehall—Informing him that there are eight vessels at Ostend and Dunkirk "making ready for Charles Stuart," besides two frigates gone westward to look for prizes, and directing him to go towards those parts to prevent mischief. *Signed by Bradshaw. [The order for this letter is given in Cal. of S.P. Dom., under this date.]*

GENERALS OF THE FLEET to the COUNCIL OF STATE.

[16]49[-50], January 26. Portsmouth—Stating that they have no medicaments, cordials or syrups for the surgeons of the fleet, and that as such things cannot be obtained in Portsmouth they are about to send one of the surgeons up to London to procure them. *Copy by Colonel Popham.*

ROBERT COYTMOR to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1649[-50], January 26—I beseech you consider what weak guard you have at home in the channel and write to the Council of State to hasten forth the summer guard.

*Postscript.*—"Believe me Sir, there is need of you here. I may not speak or write of the slowness of some persons in the public service, for I suffer deeply already for my free speaking thereof, and I find that you do not bear me out in it as I expected; and therefore I will sit down suffering with patience, which I have much ado to hold when I see such selfishness in men, which is no better than knavery if I should do it."

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1649[-50], January 28—Informing him that two Dutch ships have been wrecked on the Goodwins and that the crew and goods to the value of 80*l.* have been preserved by Captain Coppin's and Captain Holding's men at the hazard of their lives; but that the Serjeant of the Admiralty claims the goods, and that the claim is countenanced by the Governor of Dover Castle, "which makes the poor seamen half mad."

SIR H. VANE, jun., to COLONEL POPHAM, at Portsmouth.

[1650, January]—"I hope by this despatch you will have all things brought to you that you expect from hence for expediting of Colonel Blake; which being done it will be necessary our business here in the narrow seas be consulted and looked after, least we have blamers at home whilst our thoughts are so much abroad.

I expected to have had Colonel Deane before this time with us, that by both your advices the list of officers for the next summer service might be settled and all things relating to the same put in a good way of despatch. Much solicitations we have for a fit commander of the Northern squadron now Peacocke is removed thence."

COUNCIL OF STATE to COLONELS POPHAM, BLAKE and DEANE.

1649[-50], February 12. Whitehall—Commission appointing them Commanders of the fleet for the ensuing year. *Signed by Bradshaw. Seal. Parchment.*

CAPTAIN [THOMAS?] LILBURNE'S ANSWER.

1649[-50], February 23—"If Captain Lilburne should endeavour to provoke and stir up the soldiers against their officers he must acknowledge that to be a crime not sufferable in any officer or soldier of the army, but he never gave the least occasion for any man to suspect such a thing, and utterly detests such a spirit, way and practice, but on the contrary has ever made it his study and endeavour, according to his utmost power, interest and ability, to maintain the pure and good government of the army and to keep a unity and good correspondence between the officers and soldiers of the army, and to make up breaches and



differences from time to time as occasions have been offered. Capt. Lilburne hates and utterly dislikes such a way as going from town to town to inquire if the soldiers paid their quarters, as is without any ground in the world suggested, nor he never did any such thing, but having reason to ride much through the country between his own house and his troop, and other occasions, he hath been told oftentimes by countrymen how deeply they have suffered by the soldiers quartering, and if as an officer of the army, tender of the honour of the army, and as a countryman, of the good of the country, he should have asked whether the soldiers carry fair and did not wrong the country, knowing that his Excellency had given such strict orders and commands to all officers of the army to be careful to put the Act of Parliament and those orders in execution, also knowing how the rest of the army were quartered and that the rest of the counties were free from any burthen by reason of quartering, he humbly conceives it could not be looked upon as any offence in him, but only as one desiring to act in obedience to his Excellency's orders and commands, and if he saw them violated by members of the army to acquaint his Excellency therewith that justice may be done. [*Imperfect.*]

[CAPTAIN] ROBERT BEAKE to WILLIAM CLARKE, one of the clerks of Lord Fairfax.

1649[-50], March 13. Coventry—"Last Lord's day preached here one Mr. [Joseph] Salmon, sometimes a preacher at Paul's wharf, and his hour was spent to the admiration of all honest men, of whose worth they no sooner made their boast but—they not only found him a comrade of Copps—they perceived in him a most pernicious spirit and heard him swear many desperate oaths, of which he was convicted before the magistrate." One [Andrew] Wyke, an Essex man, and a Mrs. Wallis have been here to visit Copp. "They said the Scripture to them was no more than a ballad, that there was no devil, that it was God that swore in them." Wyke called a soldier of mine a friend of hell, a child of the devil. These men are of acute wits and voluble tongues. They are now committed for contempt of authority and other misdemeanours. [*Compare letter from the Council of State in Cal. of S.P. Dom., under date March 16. Copp was imprisoned for writing a pamphlet called "Some blasphemous truths."*]

MAJOR WILLIAM DANIEL to WILLIAM CLARKE, one of the Secretaries to Lord Fairfax, in St. Martin's Lane.

1649[-50], March 16. Chester Castle—News has come from Ireland that the rebels have blown up the castle in the Island of Allen and the Castle of Athy. They have also delivered up Ballyshannon, which place our party have garrisoned, as well as the Bog of Allen, Athy, Kilrush, Tomaline [Timolin?], and

Kilbay. The Lord Lieutenant is very active in Munster and is now before Clonmell. The plague is very hot in the Irish quarters.

Colonel Whitley has been taken, who "pretended to have made his peace in the general composition of North Wales, and had the General's pass and protection either true or counterfeit. But he being one of the Prince of Wales' sworn servants, and took but the benefit of his protection to act some base design, it pleased God it was discovered by a letter that came from a grand cavalier that was one who had intended to have surprised the Isle of Bardsey near Carnarvon, which going to him was intercepted by the way, and we, the committee of North Wales, clapt him up prisoner. There are many other dangerous persons that move under the General's protection, and I could wish that you, who are so near him, might prevent such actings, for there is such a deadly feud betwixt the persons for a state and monarchical government that there is no hopes of reconciling many of them."

#### EXILED GENTLEMEN OF JERSEY to LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX.

1650, March 28—The Council of State, on 29th of May, 1649, referred it to your Excellency's care to consider of some forces to secure Guernsey and to reduce Jersey. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1649-1650, p. 161.*] But Jersey still continuing unsubdued, a harbour for pirates and a continual relief for Guernsey Castle, and certain intelligence having arrived that the Prince has gone away with all foreigners and that "a panic fear hath seized upon the malignants there, to the transportation of their goods to St. Malo's," your petitioners, faithful friends of Parliament and utterly undone, pray that some forces may be sent to join with those already in Guernsey for the reduction of Jersey.

#### COLONEL ROBERT DUCKENFIELD to [WILLIAM] CLARKE, Secretary to the Lord General in London.

1650, Ma[rch, end of?]"—General Major Ashton and Colonel Holland are much eyed as most popular and inclining to head a party to close with the Scots against us. They have conveyed their estates to others to evade the law, which course very many do imitate daily. It's the earnest desire of the modest and well-affected party—that in regard [of] a new war which they plainly discern is coming hastily upon us and cannot be diverted, the clergy being the chief causers thereof—that such as be intermediaries and promoters of the new war may bear the greatest burden thereof and that the innocent may not as formerly most suffer for the faults of the no—[*torn*]. One newly arrived here from the north of Ireland saith that the old national feud betwixt the Scots and us begins to appear there very sharply, and that the English are like to be questioned for outing their dear brethren of their sweet possessions in Ulster. The Irish generally

fly towards Connaught as their last refuge excepting Spain and are in extreme want and disorder, which causeth the Catholics to haste the Prince into Scotland with all their might to divert our Irish army if it be possible. And on the other hand I conceive it would be very advantageous for our state to haste an army into Scotland, thereby we may on equal terms fight the Scots before their new harvest, till when they cannot hurt us much, they wanting money and other necessities, and thereby we shall evade a winter's war, which otherwise assuredly we must expect from them, which will be three times more chargeable and insufferable and dangerous in that country than a summer's war. Some ministers and others of Lancashire are bound to appear at the assizes or imprisoned for exclaiming against the present authority, that commonly in the pulpits [is] called a den of thieves and such like terms."

*Postscript.*—"The better sort of the Scots have most villainous intents towards us and often say they will revenge all their late losses and affronts received from England. The loss of Ulster they digest worst of all." *Seal with arms and crest.*

ANDREW WYKE to SAMUEL SNELL, MAYOR, and the rest of the ALDERMEN of Coventry.

1650, April 1. Coventry, Common Gaol—I am given to understand by Mr. Butler, my keeper, that I am prohibited from preaching at the grates as formerly, and that none are to speak with me but in his presence. You profess to the world to walk by the rules of mercy, love and justice, yet you imprison me, against whom there is nothing alleged but for swearing, for which I was fined two shillings, and now you have sent up to the Council of State, by which means I am further detained. I am above a hundred miles from my home [Colchester] and was upon my return thither when Captain Beake secured me, yet you have not been so far Christian as to supply my wants, and further, when I quietly and peaceably preached Christ to the people, you have restrained me, prejudicing the good of many poor souls that hungered after the bread of life.

"I have one word more and I leave you, viz., that if the glory, pomp and greatness, the ornaments and brave attire of you magistrates in Coventry, the sweet perfumes and savours of you, do not become a stink and noisomeness, a shame and destruction to you, and that you are burnt up in the ashes of the consumption of all your outward glory; and if the slain of the Lord, among you Coventry magistrates and Christians be not many, and that within two years after the date hereof, then say the Lord have not spoken by me." [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1650, pps. 133, 517, &c.*]

— to —

1650, April 2. Edinburgh—"The winds have been of late and continue still very fair from Holland, so that we are in hourly expectation from thence, and till some inkling which way matters

It is likely to go there nothing will or can be done of concernment  
 here, only this rest assured of, that not a people alive can be  
 more desperately and unanimously bent upon invading England.  
 We wait only the stating of the quarrel. And believe it, our  
 statesmen would make short work with the King, but for the  
 irk, and they once engaged you will see strange work. The  
 most backward men will be the most forward and the most cold  
 and zealous. . . . All men are of opinion that the King will  
 end in some part or other of this country. We say the mis-  
 marriage of the last year's war in Ireland was because of the  
 King's not going in person thither. We are all in a posture of  
 war, every man knows under what captain and colonel to rise.  
 We can no sooner hear the King will come, but we hope presently  
 have a strong army . . . and be confident we are then  
 ready with for action; we cannot maintain an army at home.  
 1000*l.* sterling is given towards repairing and fitting the Abbey  
 and Stirling Castle for his Majesty, and now that search is made  
 for his household goods, as plate, pewter, &c., very little can be  
 found. Several of the German officers and others lately come  
 to town have been the last week with David Lesley. He desires  
 them to make shift for two or three weeks, and then he doubted  
 not but that they should have money and employment. But  
 as I may assure you, our hopes are not so much in any force we  
 can raise, as in fomenting divisions among them. Having notice  
 from the Commissioners that they intend to keep the next Lord's  
 day as a day of humiliation, it is also enjoined to be kept through-  
 out Scotland for the good success of the treaty. Last Friday  
 Argyle's eldest son was contracted to the Earl of Murray's  
 daughter, and on Saturday he began his journey towards the  
 highlands to set all in order there, whence he is not expected  
 till towards the latter end of this month, about which time, if  
 it be before, things will begin to work. One came hither last  
 week with letters from the Earl of Derby, thinking to get passage  
 from hence to Holland to the King. There was sent hither last  
 week a list of every troop and company in England and how  
 strong each, and by whom commanded, and where quartered,  
 and the like for Ireland, and what advantages and disadvantages  
 you have for getting of moneys over what last year. Also what  
 divisions in Parliament, army, city, country, intimations thereof.  
 Late letters from Dublin say that Ormond is over sea and that  
 the Irish are all submitted upon condition to have liberty of  
 conscience. This is written and given out by the greatest here.  
 The last letters from the North speak not of Montrose's being in  
 the Orkney, notwithstanding all reports. Nothing yet from  
 Holland." *Copy.* [*Printed in "Original letters and papers  
 of State, &c.," ed. by John Nickolls, 1743. B. M. press mark  
 99 k. 13.*]

*On the same sheet,*

[1650, March]—Instructions to the Commissioners sent to  
 read:

1. The King's late letter sent to Scotland to be urged  
 not satisfactory nor the grounds of the treaty.

2. To urge him to recall all commissions or warrants given by his Majesty or by his warrant.
3. To acknowledge all former Parliaments since the late King's own presence or Commissioners.
4. To urge the League and Covenant with the additions.
5. To urge the motives granted upon the eleven resolutions.
6. To put from him all persons excepted against by [the committee of *cancelled*] both kingdoms.
7. That he is convinced in his judgment in the subscribing of the covenant.
8. To invite him home; but it is their humble advice to end all things before he come from Holland.
9. To entertain correspondence with the Presbyterians about the King.
10. The treaty to continue only forty days.
11. Matters civil for the King and his successors to determine by Parliament and ecclesiastical matters by the Assembly.

Sunday next is ordered a day of humiliation here, which will be kept by our Commissioners in Holland, and the ministers of the Low Countries are not only hoped to concur therein, but also in address to his Majesty. The reasons of the fast. These—

1. The continuance of and increase of sin and profaneness.

2. The sad condition of the well-affected in England and Ireland.

3. The King's present condition and the address presently made to him.

4. The condition of those who presently rule in Judicature, whether civil, ecclesiastical or military, in this kingdom, that they may be preserved, stand faithful and never incline to malignancy or sectary.

5. The sad condition of seed time and the season of the year threatening a dearth if not by special providence prevented. *Copy.*

[COLONEL POPHAM.]

1650, April 16. Narrative of a voyage begun upon this date—  
 “Upon Tuesday, the 16th of April, I came aboard of the State's ship the *Andrew*, then riding in Tilbury Hope, where I found the *Paragon*, the *Phoenix*, the *Peregrine*, the *America*, the *Great Lewis*, and between Gravesend and the Hope lay the *James*, another merchants' ship in the State's service, all which had their orders; the *Andrew*, the *Phoenix*, the *America*, the *Great Lewis*, all bound for the westward; the *Paragon* and the *Peregrine* for the coast of Ireland; and the *James* for the guard of the Newfoundland fishery. The wind in the morning was east, but towards four in the afternoon came to the S.S.W. and S.W.; most of the ships wanted men and lie here to man themselves. The 17th I continued at an anchor in the Hope, the wind at S.W.

The 18th came in the *Rainbow* from Chatham and the *James* and the *Merchant* out of the river, the wind continued between the S.W. and the S. The 19th I gave order to the *Falcon* to convoy three vessels laden with the State's goods bound for Portsmouth into the Downs and to stay for the *Paragon*, who was to convoy them thence to Portsmouth, the wind in the morning was at S.S.W., towards the noon it came to the W.S.W. The 20th the wind came up easterly and towards noon to the southward; this day with the first of the ebb the *Falcon* went hence with her convoy. 21st, we weighed about twelve of the clock with the wind at S.S.W. and between that and the S.W., the *Paragon*, the *Phœnix*, the *Peregrine* and the *Great Lewis* in company. The *Rainbow* was left behind to man herself and the *America* to convoy some vessels for Rotterdam. We came to an anchor about three of the clock off the Nore, where we found the *Paradox* and a Flemish hoy lately come from Lisbon at an anchor bound for London. The master of the Flemish vessel, Cornelius, Scotchman, informed me that he had been sixteen days from Lisbon, that he had letters from Colonel Blake, but could not come at them till he had unladen his ship, and that three days before he came thence there came in two French ships, the one a great ship of above forty pieces of ordnance and five hundred men, the other about six or eight and twenty guns, both Flemish vessels, with an intention to have served the Prince, but by a mistake the captains came aboard of Colonel Blake, whom he there detained prisoners and kept the ships, and saith likewise that there were four French ships more coming thither. 22nd, here we anchored all night and the next morning till towards eleven of the clock in the forenoon, about which time we all set sail again with the wind at W.S.W., sometime more southerly, sometime more westerly; a pretty fresh gale. We came over the Flats and came to an anchor again in Margate Road about three in the afternoon that day. 23rd, the next morning, we weighed again about four of the clock with the wind at S.S.W., but it growing very thick foggy wet weather we would not adventure through, but came to an anchor off of the North Foreland. 24th, the next morning, between five and six, we weighed again with the wind at S.W. and turned into the Downs, where we came to an anchor again. Here we found the *Dragon*, the *Greyhound*, the *Lucy*, the *Lily*, the *John* pink, the *Truelove*, the *Hind*, there came in hither this day the *Mary* and five other ships from the Straits. 25th, the wind came up this day to the north of the west and continued at W.N.W. and N.W. till noon, and then flew back again to the south of the west; it continued at the S.W. all that night and the next day, 26th, and blew very hard. The 27th the wind was at S.S.W. and S.W., towards the evening I received a letter from the Governor of Rye, Major Gibbons, who informed me that there were four small men-of-war of the enemy lying in Rye Bay within sight of the town, I presently dispatched away the *Greyhound* and the *Lily* to look after them. The 28th the wind came to the east of the south, continued there a little while and flew back again to the S.W. In the day sent away

the *John* pink to Rye to fetch thence the mackerel fishermen. The 29th the wind was at N.W. and W.N.W. and came back again to the S.W. and to the east of the south and S.E. This day the *Supply* went hence with a convoy for Youghal, the *Lucy* with a convoy for Seinehead, and so to the coast of Ireland, the *Phoenix* and the *Dragon* for the westward, and the *James*, a merchants' ship, for a convoy for the Newfoundland fishery. The *Hind* and the *Truelove* I ordered for Portsmouth and to take with them several vessels laden with ordnance and ammunition for the State's service bound for Portsmouth, but the wind beginning to blow fresh westerly they bore up again and came into the Downs this night. 30th, the next morning, between two and three of the clock, the wind came up at N.N.E.; the *Hind* and the *Truelove* went away with their convoy; about twelve o'clock this day I set sail out of the Downs, ordering the *Great Lewis* to bear me company, but she came not that day; I ordered Captain Hackwell, in the *Paragon*, and the *Peregrine* to stay there till further order from Colonel Deane. Off Hide [Hythe] I met with the *Star* frigate, who had given chase to a Norway man all that day, had newly come up with her. I ordered him to search her thoroughly, and so parted with her. The first of May I got the length of the Wight by six in the morning with the wind at N.N.E. I kept on my course to the westward, lay weighed that night. The 2nd, next morning, came up with me the *Great Lewis* and the merchant. We all got into the Sound at Plymouth and came to an anchor there about nine of the clock in the morning, the wind being at E.N.E.; shortly after came in the *Hopeful Luke* with three or four vessels bound for the Newfoundland and the *Hector* and *Peter* frigates, who had been at St. Malo's with a convoy. 3rd, the wind continuing at E.N.E. I gave orders to the *Hopeful Luke* to be gone with these four vessels for Newfoundland. This day came in the *Satisfaction* from Portsmouth, and the *Hopeful Luke* set sail according to my order for Newfoundland. The 4th the wind still continued in his former corner easterly and to the northward of the east. 5th, the *Greyhound* and *Lily* came in hither, the *Greyhound* having but two days' beer aboard I ordered to go into Catwater to wash and tallow and to take in more victuals, the like for the *Lily*. This day came in likewise the *James*, the other convoy bound for Newfoundland, whom I kept with me till I could hear from London; the wind still continues at E.N.E. The 6th came in the *Phoenix* from Portsmouth about eight in the morning and the *William* ketch about noon came likewise thence, the wind being at E.N.E. I presently ordered the *Phoenix* to stand off with the *William* ketch to sea and see her safe out of the channel, whom I ordered to repair to Lisbon to Colonel Blake with the packet. Between one and two that day the wind came to the south of the east, and about three to the south and so to the westward of the south till it came to the S.W. and W.S.W. The 7th the wind continued W. and blew very hard, this day came a messenger to me from the Council of State with all my despatches for Lisbon. The 8th the wind

continued still S.W. and W.S.W., but blew not so hard [as the] day before, it came to the N.W. and W.N.W., but flew back again to the south, thick and rainy weather towards night. The 9th, in the morning came in a vessel of Plymouth, who came from Avara in Portugal, could give little intelligence, but that he heard our fleet was at Lisbon and so was Rupert; the wind was at W.N.W. and N.W. and N.N.W. The 10th in the morning the wind was N. somewhat easterly, less wind, but came about again to the S. and S.S.W. The *Greyhound* and *Lily* went hence this day to lie off Scilly, the *Phoenix* to accompany the ketch bound for Lisbon to Colonel Blake with a packet from the Council of State; towards the evening the *Hector* and *Peter* set sail for Ireland, with the wind at N.E. The 11th wind still continued E. or S.E. N.E.; the *Dragon* came out this morning, having victualled and washed. The 12th the *Dragon* set sail to the westward to lie between Scilly and Mounts Bay with the wind at E.N.E., a fresh gale all the day till towards five in the afternoon the wind came up southerly, little wind, but between seven and eight came back again to E. and E. and to N. The 13th came in the *Resolution*, the *Hercules*, the *Paragon* and some vessels with her bound for the coast of Ireland, it blew fresh at N.E. and E.N.E. all that day; we delivered out stores that the *Resolution* brought for the ships bound to the southwards and took in other provisions that were to be taken in at Plymouth. The 14th, wind still continued easterly, about eight of the clock in the morning I came aboard the *Resolution*, and as soon as ever I came aboard I shot off a warning piece, loosed my fore topsail and gave order to those several ships to set sail with me for Lisbon; the *Andrew*, the *Satisfaction*, the *Hercules*, the *Great Lewis*, the *Merchant* and the *James*, which was formerly designed for the convoy of the Newfoundland fishery; toward the evening the wind came up S. and S.S.E. thick rainy weather, that we could not weigh that night; about four of the clock the *Phoenix* came in, whom I ordered to follow me. The 15th, about three in the morning, I weighed with the wind at S.E. and stood off to sea with the *Resolution*, the *Andrew*, the *Phoenix*, the *Satisfaction*, the *Hercules*, the *Great Lewis*, the *Merchant*, the *James* and the *Hercules of Plymouth*, a victualler that carried provisions for the rest of the fleet at Lisbon. About six o'clock in the evening, finding the victualler a great way astern, gave order to stay for her, so we lay by the lee till past eight, and then she came up with us, we likewise met with the *Greyhound* coming from the westward, the wind was at N.E. and E.N.E., a pretty fresh gale till towards two in the morning, 16th, then it grew little wind till towards four, then it was westerly to N.W. and N.W. a fresh gale, then it came about to W. and W.S.W. and S.W. The 17th the wind continued between the S.W. and S.S.W.; we were in the fair way between Scilly and Ushant. The 18th was little wind, fair weather, the wind southerly, between the S.S.E. and S.S.W. The 19th calm, fair weather, the wind at W.S.W. and S.W. The 20th thick weather and rain, little wind, the wind at S.W.; about twelve o'clock at noon the



wind came up at N.N.W. and N., a fine easy gale, so we steered away S.W. and to S. till eight at night, and then we steered away S.S.W. The 21st the wind still continued N. and to the W. of the N. and we our course S.S.W. The 22nd the wind came a little to the E. of the N., a fine gentle gale, fair weather, and we continued our S.S.W. course. The 23rd the wind was E. in the morning and at N. towards noon, and after, very little wind; we kept our course S. and S. and to W., towards four in the afternoon the wind came up at W. and W.S.W., a fresh gale, and towards twelve at night it blew a storm of wind and S.W. and S.S.W. till eight the next morning, 24th, then the wind came up N. and N.N.W., a fresh gale. About twelve o'clock this day was made the North Cape; we steered away S. and by W. and S.S.W.; it blew very fresh all this night at N. and N.N.W. The 25th the wind being at N. and N. and by E. we steered away S. and S. and by E. with a short sail, it being a very fresh gale of wind and all the fleet far astern; towards noon it blew much wind and the wind still increasing upon us towards night, about eight of the clock we lay short, fearing we should overrun our port. It blew a storm of wind; we lay with our head to the westward till twelve that night, then we made sail again. The 26th, between nine and ten in the morning, it being very hazy we got sight of the Borlings [Berlengas], being about four leagues short of them, the wind was at N. and to the E., a fresh gale, fine weather. That night I came into the road before Castcalles [Cascaes], where I found Colonel Blake and the rest of the fleet. Colonel Blake came aboard to me in the morning, where we agreed together first of all before we proceeded to anything to send to Mr. [Chas.] Vane, the Parliament's agent at Lisbon to the King of Portugal, to acquaint him with what we further intended, which we accordingly did; the wind blew very fresh that day at N.N.E. The 28th we received letters from Mr. Vane intimating to us his resolution of coming to us the next day. Colonel Blake with some merchants come from Lisbon came aboard hither; we gave a pass to one Mr. Rappell, master of an English ship, to carry a Governor from Lisbon to the Terceiras. The wind still blew very hard N. The 29th came a letter from the Brazil Company desiring the releasing of the English ships we had stayed bound to Brazil, or if that could not be obtained that they might have liberty to take out their goods, to which we returned no answer, expecting Mr. Vane, from whom late this night we received a letter that the Comte de Vermira desired to speak with him this afternoon, and that at his request he had deferred his coming aboard to us until the next day. We had this day very fair weather, little wind, what was W. and W.N.W., towards night it was off the shore N. again. The 30th Mr. Vane, the agent, sent another letter to us excusing himself that he was hindered from coming to us according to his intention by a command from the King of Portugal, who had given order that he should speak with him that afternoon; fair weather this day, the wind E. and E.N.E.; towards night N. again and to the W. of the N. The 31st Mr. Vane with much difficulty

got aboard, who as soon as he had seen our instructions, resolved to return no more, the wind in the morning was E., fair weather; in the afternoon it was off the shore N. The first of June we all rode here in Castcalles Road, filling water, with the wind W. in the day and N. at night. This evening came Colonel Blake aboard this ship and remained here. The 2nd two of Mr. Vane's servants came aboard from Lisbon, who brought word that all the English merchants that seemed any way affected to the Parliament were secured in Lisbon; the wind was out at W. all day and N. at night, a pretty fresh gale. The 3rd we had much wind at N.N.W., this day we purposed to have called a council of war, but we had so much wind the boats were not able to come aboard. The 4th it blew fresh, but not so much wind as the day before; it was off of the shore N., and towards night little wind. The 5th pretty fair weather, the wind came off from the sea, W. About six in the morning we shot off a gun and hung out a flag of council, where we resolved to send an officer with a letter to the King of Portugal to demand the ships, and in case he refused them to do what we could to right ourselves by force. The 6th we sent away the lieutenant of the *George* with a letter to the King of Portugal, as it was agreed on the day before at the council of war, and wrote likewise to the Governor of Castcalles to give him a safe convoy to Lisbon and back again, and ordered him to return again as soon as ever he had delivered the letter to the King of Portugal. We set the King a day to give an answer to our letter, which was between this and Monday next, the 10th of this month. It blew a fresh gale at W.N. and about noon came off the shore and was N. The 7th fair weather in the morning, the wind variable, sometimes S., sometimes W., but towards noon it came off the shore at N.N.E. and blew fresh; all our [men] were this day employed, some in fetching water, others in fetching their provisions. About five in the afternoon came in the Brazil frigate from Plymouth with the rest of the victuals for the fleet here. The 8th a small vessel stole in by us close under the Castle of Castcalles into Lisbon, so we ordered the *Phœnix*, *Expedition* and *Providence* to lie off the Rock to stop any vessels before they got within the Rock that were bound into Lisbon; the wind was sometimes W., sometimes N., a pretty fresh gale. 9th June fair weather, the wind variable, a fresh breeze in the afternoon at W.N.W., towards night more N. off the shore. The 10th we set all our boats awork to fill water and take out our victuals both out of the Plymouth ship and the Brazil frigate [*sic*], it being fair weather and little wind. This day we expected the return of our messenger from the King of Portugal, but he came not. The 11th we called a council of war to advise what was fit to be done, the time limited for the King to send his answer being expired and our messenger not returned. As soon as the council was set, about eight in the morning, Captain Legend returned with an answer from the King, which being interpreted delusory or at least dilatory, we resolved to dispatch away Mr. Vane, the agent, for England, to give an account to the Council of State of our

proceedings, and the Rear-Admiral with the *Entrance*, *George*, *Leopard*, *Adventure*, *Assurance*, *Merchant*, *Whelp* and ketch to Cales [Cadiz] as well to meet with some French that lay hovering there, as to bring beverage and water for the supply of the fleet and with the rest to block up this harbour. The 12th we were all day taking out all the beverage and water these ships could spare that were bound for Cales for the supply of those that stayed behind. We likewise ordered the *Constant Warwick* to carry Mr. Vane for England and to return to us again with all expedition. The 13th *Constant Warwick* set sail for England about eight in the morning with the wind at N.E. This day we sent out all our frigates to bring us in what fishermen they could get, who brought us in sixteen sail, only two escaped. The 14th the Rear-Admiral early in the morning set sail with his squadron of ships for Cales with a fresh gale of wind at N.N.W., and it continued so all that day. The 15th we sent in a Frenchman to Lisbon with the soldiers that belonged to the ships bound for Brazil and one fisher boat with twenty fishermen in her; the wind still blew fresh northerly. The 16th we discovered a sail coming out of the bay of the Wyers [Oeiras], the frigates stood with him and brought him off to us, he was a Swede bound for Stockholm. He informed us that the King of Portugal was making ready all his shipping to come out and fight with us; that he had put soldiers aboard all our English merchantmen within and had put the English seamen to man his ships; it was pretty fair weather, the wind at N.W., towards the evening more westerly. The 17th early in the morning passed by us a Frenchman with a white ensign and jack; our frigates stood with him; but could not cut him off from getting into Lisbon. This day we weighed and stood in nearer into Castcalles Road to get smooth water to clap on some fishes on our bowsprit, which was very rotten and had a great crack a little above the wooldings, the wind was at N.W., fair weather and a pretty fresh gale, towards evening it was more N. The 18th we made way for the fitting of our bowsprit, it being fair weather, little sea and the wind at N.W., towards the evening it came more northerly. About seven of the clock in the evening came off a boat to us from Castcalles, who brought us letters from the Brazil Company inviting us to send some ashore to confer with them, for whom they sent to us a pass under the hand of the Secretary of State for their safe being there, but we returned answer to them that if they pleased to come hither to us they should have free liberty both to come and go at their pleasure, and dispatched away the letter that night by the same boat. The 19th we had fair weather, the wind W., towards noon it came about to the N. of the W. Between twelve and one of the clock in the afternoon this day we received a second letter from the merchants of the Brazil Company to invite us to send some ashore, for that the company had forbid them to go on sea, which as formerly we refused, but acquainting them that if they had anything to impart to us they might come and go freely. The 20th the Brazil Company of merchants sent to us Mr. William Roles with a letter, wherein they referred them-

selves to him to deliver their mind more fully to us, the drift of whose discourse tended to the sending of some persons of quality ashore to be hostages in their room while they remained aboard with us, to which we could not consent, we having none but officers in the fleet, which we did not think fit at such a time as this was to trust from their ships, with which answer he returned this night. The wind was at W. and to S.W., little wind till towards two or three in the afternoon, then it came up northerly, and towards night blew very fresh and all the night. The 21st the wind still continued N., somewhat to the W., and blew very hard. The Brazil Company this day sent us again another letter and in it a safe conduct under the King's own hand for any we should send ashore to go and return in safety, which was sent back again to them by the same messenger, with a safe conduct from us for any they should send aboard; it blew hard that night. The 22nd the wind was off the shore N. and N. and by E. Towards ten o'clock in the forenoon it was indifferent fair weather. The boat then went to Castcalles with the messenger and letter to the Brazil Company. The *Phoenix* and *Expedition* came in from lying off the Rock and the *Tiger* and *Providence* went out. The 23rd it was very fair weather and little wind at N.E.; towards noon Mr. Roles was sent off to us again with a letter from the Brazil Company, intimating to us that they could not come aboard upon our safe conduct till they had asked leave, which they were gone to Lisbon to do, and that then they would give us an account, to which we returned no other answer but that if they came they should be welcome; he likewise brought off nine of our men, that were prisoners at Castcalles, and we likewise returned some seamen ashore that were in the ships bound for Brazil. Towards evening there was a pretty fresh breeze off the shore at N. The 24th it was fair weather, little wind at N., in the afternoon a pretty fresh breeze. The 25th, fair weather, little wind, very variable, sometimes N., sometimes W., sometimes S.; about three o'clock in the afternoon we spied a sail off the cape standing into Lisbon by Sisembry [Cezimbra], the *Elizabeth* weighed and stood with him [*sic*] and made several shots at her and at last brought her away, she was a French vessel laden with corn bound for Lisbon. The 26th the wind was W. at W.N.W. and W. and by N., fair weather all day. We sent the master of the French vessel ashore to know whether they would deposit money in our hands for the vessel and goods, they being consigned to English, but really belonging to Portugal, as we found by papers. The 27th it was thick weather, but fair, the wind at W. and W. and by S.; towards evening it was off the shore at N.N.W. and blew pretty fresh. The 28th the wind was W., fair weather and little wind, the *Tiger* brought in a small Hamburger that came from the Madeiras bound for Lisbon; this day came a Swede ship out of Lisbon and brought from thence divers English that stole away, who brought us word of great preparations that the King of Portugal was making both by sea and by land, and that he had banished and [*sic*] imprisoned all the English merchants and sea-

men that would not serve Rupert. The 29th it was fair weather, little wind, all the morning W., in the afternoon it came to the S.W., thick rainy weather and began to blow fresh. The 30th the wind came back again to the N. and N. and by W. off the shore and blew hard all that day and night. Towards evening we discovered two carvels near the shore on the Almado side bound for Lisbon; we fitted and manned one of our fisher boats and sent after them to see if she could cut them off from going to the town. The 1st of July the wind was all the morning out at W. and W.N.W., in the afternoon it landened and came up to the N. a fresh breeze; this evening our fisher boat that was sent out the day before returned and brought us word that one of the two boats we sent him after got in, the other he forced ashore under the castle at Sisembre; he brought us in a new carvel with three mizzens and four murderers that he gave chase in the morning, all her men quitted her and got away in a boat, so he brought away the carvel supposed to come from Port a Port bound to Lisbon. The 2nd the wind was out at W. and S. and S.W. in the morning and little wind, in the afternoon it was at N.W. and N.W. and by N. About four of the clock in the afternoon Mr. Roles was sent to us with a letter from the Brazil Company, wherein they signified to us that they had by Mr. Roles sent us an offer, which they doubted not but if we would hearken to we should go with satisfaction and reputation from this kingdom. We demanded of Mr. Roles what it was, who told us in a business of that consequence he durst not trust his memory and had therefore writ it down as it was delivered to him by them; it consisted of three propositions—the first, that we would give our consent that the Brazil Company might buy all the ships of Prince Rupert and employ them in their service only, and not against England nor any of the people of England, they engaging themselves that they should never be restored to this nor any other King of England. Secondly, that Rupert and his brother might have liberty to go whether they would. Thirdly, that we should deliver up the Brazil ships with all that belonged to them to proceed in their voyage, all which we rejected and did not think worthy of an answer, and that night sent him ashore again. The 3rd it was fair weather, the wind W. in the morning, in the afternoon off the shore northerly, a fresh breeze. The 4th the wind was at W. and to the S. of the W. and continued so all day, little wind and fair weather. The 5th the wind was at S.S.E. in the morning till towards nine of the clock, then it was thick wet weather and that brought about the wind to the W. of the S. and it continued at S.W. all that day. We this day, finding water and all sorts of liquor to grow very short with us, called a council of war to advise of what was fit to be done, having had no news of our fleet that went to Cales since they went from us; it was there resolved not to spare any more of our fleet to Cales, but to send the *Tiger*, *Providence* and *Cygnnet* to the Isles of Bayonne with as many empty casks as they could carry, to fill them with fresh water and to return again to us with all the haste they could, with which, and lengthening out our own all we

could by bringing our men to half-allowance of drink, we intended to remain here, either till our fleet returned from Cales or till necessity enforced us to remove altogether, and accordingly the *Tiger*, the *Providence* and *Cygnat* set sail this evening with the wind at S.W. for the Isles of Bayonne. The 6th the wind was southerly, that that was in the morning, but calm for the most part of the day, towards the afternoon the wind was W. and to the N., about seven at night the *Expedition* came in, having plied between the Borlings and the Rock all the week. The 7th the wind was at W.S.W., a handsome gale, fair weather all the morning; there came in hither a great ship of Sweden bound for St. Utal to load salt. He met with the *Tiger* frigate off the Borlings, who sent him into us. He acquainted us that he had met with three or four Turks men-of-war, who lay off Port; we took out of him what fresh water he had and permitted him to go into St. Utal. Towards three of the clock in the afternoon the wind came to W. and W.N.W. The 8th the wind was at E. and S.E. and S.S.E. and S.W. in the morning, fair weather, little wind, in the afternoon it came to the N.E. and to the W. of the N., N.N.W. The 9th it blew very hard all day, but the wind was very variable, sometimes at N.N.E., N., N.N.W. and W.N.W., then it flew back again to the N.N.W. and blew very hard all night. The 10th the wind continued N., sometimes to the E., sometimes to the W. of the N., a stiff gale, but not so much wind as was the day before, this day was brought in to us a fly boat of Amsterdam that came from Norway laden with deals and was bound for Lisbon, but we would not suffer him to go in thither, the *Cygnat* not being able to keep it up any longer to the N. was forced to bear up and came in this day. The 11th the wind was easterly all the morning, a pretty fresh gale, and to the N. of the E.; towards noon it proved little wind and the wind very variable, sometimes W. and at last settled in the N.N.E. About the shutting in of the evening we discovered seven or eight sail of ships off the Rock, the *Phoenix* was one of them and brought in a Holland ship of twenty-six guns that was bound for Lisbon; the rest were bound for St. Utal. The 12th the wind was E. in the morning, little wind and very hot, towards noon it sprung up a gale at N.W., and after at N.N.E., where it continued all that day; the *Phoenix* descried a sail in the morning and stood off with her, about three of the clock in the afternoon he brought her into us, she proved a Flushing man-of-war, a cruiser that lay on this coast to look after Brazil men. The 13th the wind was W. in the morning, little wind and very hot weather, towards the afternoon a fresh breeze came off the shore at N.N.W. and N. and N.N.E. and there continued all that day. The 14th the wind was E. in the morning, then it came to the W., little wind and hot weather, in the afternoon it came to the N. of the W., a fresh breeze, and towards evening it came to the N.E. This day we sent out the *America* and the carvel to the Borlings and the *Phoenix* to lie off. The 15th the wind was W. all the morning, very hot weather, towards three in the afternoon came a fresh breeze off the shore at N.

and N.N.E. The 16th, little wind at W., this day about ten in the morning came in the *Assurance* from Cales, who brought us news of three French men-of-war our fleet met with in their way to Cales, one whereof they sunk, the others got away and told us that our fleet would be speedily here from Cales with beverage and water; it blew hard all this night. The 17th the wind continued still northerly and blew very fresh all the morning, toward the afternoon it came to the westward of the N. and to the N.W. and blew hard. This evening the *Providence*, whom we ordered to the Isles of Bayonne to fetch water, being very leaky returned, not being able to keep it up. The 18th, fair weather, little wind in the morning, W., in the afternoon off the shore a breeze at N.W., N.N.W., and N. and by E. The 19th we sent out the *Bonadventure* to lie off the Point as near as she could and so as he might keep sight of us too; this day the *Providence* having stopped her leak, we sent her away to ply towards the Isles of Bayonne and to observe the former orders given her, in the morning we had a fine breeze at W. and W.N.W., towards the evening it came up to N.N.W. The 20th the wind in the morning was E., little wind, but it came about to the W. and W.N.W. and N.W., where it continued almost all the day a pretty fresh breeze. About six o'clock in the evening we descried several ships coming from before the town of Lisbon into the Bay of Wyers and continued so till dark night, which we supposed to be the King of Portugal's fleet come down to ride there. The 21st, early in the morning, we descried four sail of ships more come down into the Bay of Wyers, which made in all fourteen sail of ships or thereabouts, they were some of Rupert's fleet and some of the King of Portugal's. The wind was in the morning W. and W.N.W., a fresh breeze. The *Bonadventure* and *Assurance* descriing a sail at sea stood with her and about noon brought her in unto us; she was a vessel of Amsterdam come from Bilbao bound for Malaga, so we dismissed him, the wind being fair for him at N.W. and afterwards at N.N.W., a fresh gale. The 22nd there came down more ships into the Bay of Wyers, twenty-two sail we saw there riding at an anchor; we this day called a council of war and disposed ourselves into the best posture we could to receive them; the wind in the morning was at W.N.W., a fresh gale, in the afternoon off the shore at N.W. and N.N.W. The 23rd in the morning came in the *Tiger* from Vigo, little wind, a fresh breeze, about noon at W.N.W. and there it continued all that day. *Imperfect.*

*Annexed,*

*Note of receipt of 200 dollars from Captain Jacob Reynolds at Pontevedra in Galicia for a carvel sold by him there, with further note of disbursement of part of the money.*

WILLIAM ROBINSON to COLONEL POPHAM, aboard the *Andrew* in the Downs.

1650, April 24. Whitehall—Some French men-of-war have arrived in Wyers [Oeiras] Bay. Colonel Deaue has gone to launch the *Swiftsure*.

## WILLIAM ROBINSON to COLONEL POPHAM.

1650, April 25. Whitehall—"An order of Parliament for the taking down of the late King's arms from all ships of any persons belonging to the Commonwealth came this day hither." I sent you yesterday a letter from your good lady, and wrote you word of the launching of two frigates at Deptford. They are called the *Fairfax* and the *President*.

## SIR HENRY VANE, jun., to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1650, April 27—You have probably by this time received your instructions. "We are here very desirous that your fleet were under sail. We hope the *Resolution* will be coming into the Downs about the middle of next week and that you will take care that all your other ships be ready against that time. . . . We have several reports from Portugal, which make us wish this second fleet there and therefore no time is to be lost. I make bold to trouble you with the inclosed to my brother when you come to Portugal. . . . If there be like to be any difference between the King of Portugal and you, pray take [care] of my brother's safety, for which purpose you will receive instructions from the Council of State.

I fear I was the occasion of making known to your wife your going southward; however it was innocently done, as presuming you had told it her, and all that I can offer in recompense is to do her what service lies in my power in your absence, if she will please to command me."

## ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

1650, April 30. Whitehall—Mr. Strickland writes that "the Pretender and the Scots are upon the matter agreed; the difference is only that he and his English Council would have them presently make war upon England, but the Kirk would have him forbear for two or three years, hoping that they shall be able to bring him into England without blood. They presented him with 3,000*l*."

## GEORGE, LORD GORING, to the MARQUIS OF ORMOND.

1650, May 3. Paris—"When Colonel Marsh went from hence I was in so ill a condition of health that I was not able to write to your Lordship by him, but that omission was the less material because he tarried the King's and the Queen's letters, and their Majesties were pleased in them to give your Lordship some assurance of the ambition I had to serve you. I hope he is by this time in Ireland, but if there should be any delay in his journey, Mr. Rawlins is so well informed of my inclinations and of their Majesties' approbation of them that this seems only to discharge my duty and to beseech your Lordship to judge of my respects to you and of my affection to your service, not by the



use you can make of them, but by the interest you have in them. I hope to be at Madrid by the end of this month, and until I receive your Lordship's orders I shall only negotiate my particular pretensions so far as they shall enable me to go into Ireland if your Lordship shall think that journey proper for me; but when I have the honour to hear from you I shall follow your Lordship's directions with that exactness which becomes a person so much devoted to the interest of the Crown and to your Lordship's service. [*Copy by Dr. George Clarke.*]

WILLIAM ROBINSON to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, in Plymouth Sound.

1650, May 7. Whitehall—Colonel Deane has gone down to the *Hope* to hasten forth the rest of your fleet. "Some of Montrose's forces in Scotland have received a great blow by some of Lieut.-General Leslie's forces under the conduct of Straugherne [Strachan] and Carr. Letters from Berwick say that Major-General Hurry and divers other persons of quality are taken prisoners and many slain. All the ordnance in Edinburgh Castle yesterday was sennight made loud reports of this victory."

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, on board the *St. Andrew* in Plymouth Sound.

1650, May 11. The Downs—Informing him of the dispatch of stores and giving his opinion of the great importance of hastening away the expedition. *Signed.*

LIEUT.-COLONEL P[AUL] HOBSON to WILLIAM CLARKE in London.

1650, May 16. Newcastle—"We are well and very safe, but much admire at the army's not marching, especially now the agreement betwixt the King and Scots is fully confirmed. The old malignants are very much taken off from siding with the King upon the Scotch interest, there being two or three come from hence who was in the last party that was routed with Montrose and declare to the malignants their sad usage by the Scotch presbyterians and withal declare how much the heart of Montrose was broken before the fight in the very thoughts that the King and Scots would agree, and withal protest that Charles the Second, in joining with the Scots, had as really betrayed a kingly interest and the interest of all royalists as ever any sectary of England, and that 'twas as lawful to fight for a jack-in-a-box as for a King locked in a Scotch saddle. But its hard trusting either Scot or Cavalier, they both thirsting for the blood of the honest party in England."

*Postscript.*—May 14, Edinburgh. "Great preparations there are for an execution of justice upon Montrose before they hear from the King or the King hears from them, fearing he may beg his life. The sentence is to be quartered in the public view of

the people." The King is expected here before long. Tomorrow is a day of thanksgiving; on Thursday Parliament and Commissioners of the Kirk sit.

"I could heartily wish that the honest party of Scotland and England did better know each other's mind than to fight one against another upon the quarrel of him that would destroy both. The ministers pray exceedingly for the King's safe arrival in Scotland and stir up the people in all places to affect his Majesty as a man brought in to the Kirk and therefore of necessity to God."

#### ADMIRAL EDWARD POPHAM to HIS WIFE.

1650, May 27. The *Resolution* off Lisbon—"My only dear," I wrote to thee last Sunday week by a ship I met at sea. Last night I arrived safe here, where I met Colonel Blake. "We have little hopes of gaining Rupert's ships, the King of Portugal having taken them into his protection, from whence there is no possibility for us to get them, so that the most we shall do will be to lie before this town as long as our provisions last and stop all ships either from going out or coming to him, which may perhaps in time bring them to reason. If not I persuade myself we shall do him much more mischief than those ships are worth, or if they were his own could do him good. The Lord of heaven comfort thee and keep up thy spirits, for I am much afflicted for thee," though for myself "I do not know I was ever better, had I but the enjoyment of thy company."

#### THE COUNCIL OF STATE to the LORD GENERAL.

1650, June 14. Whitehall—For better enabling the western parts to make opposition to the enemy, the Parliament have thought fit to order that a regiment of foot should be raised by Colonel Bennet and that Colonel Heane should make up his companies into an entire regiment and that commissions should be granted accordingly. *Signed by Bradshaw.*

#### CHARLES VANE to [the GENERALS OF THE FLEET].

1650, July 13—I shall in the first place thank you for your civilities. Our passage to England was not so speedy as you expected; we were nearly three weeks in getting to Plymouth, where I took post and came safe to London. "I made a relation of our proceedings to the Council of State, and acquainted them in what posture I left our fleet, who seemed to be well satisfied with what had been done, and gave me thanks in the name of the Commonwealth for my good service. The next day I was called to the Bar and made a relation to the Parliament of my whole transactions with the King of Portugal from my first arrival to my coming away. The Speaker then told me the House had approved of what I had done and gave me the thanks of the House. They likewise ordered a letter of thanks to be written to you." *Endorsed by Colonel Popham, "Mr. Vane to us."*

## BATTLE OF DUNBAR.

1650, September 3—A list of the persons who received money for colours taken at the battle of Dunbar. *At the end is a note allowing the sum of 94l. 10s. disbursed by William Clarke for a hundred and eighty-nine colours and staves brought in.*

## JOHN MULYS to [WILLIAM] WARREN.

1650, September 7. Lisbon—I have received your letter of the 6th and do esteem the good effecton your Generals show to put away disconfidence and return to continue that ancient amity and friendship that hath ever been between the two nations.

“I gave account unto his Majesty—whom God preserve—of your letter and he pleased to resolve that the gentleman with whom you had the late conferences should presently without delay depart for the Feitoria near St. Julian, who carrieth with him a letter from his Majesty signed with his royal hand for your Generals and most ample and sufficient power to celebrate and conclude without detence a treaty of peace and amity between both parties. Do you therefore presently procure that from thence may come some person with the like power that all differences may be ended, and I shall be exceedingly glad. It may fall to your lot that we may meet, seeing that I am to accompany his Majesty’s Commissioner in this occasion.”

## The MARQUIS OF ORMOND to LORD GORING.

1650, September 16. Clare—“When Colonel Marsh arrived here we were declined to so low a condition that there hath since been no means of sending him away nor any probability that the fruits of his voyage—if he could have been sent—could have come time enough to raise us up again, although by an extraordinary providence we have been preserved hitherto against the rebels’ force and the strong endeavours of this nation for their own ruin. Yet now this latter hath stricken my hopes so near dead that I judge them at once incapable and unworthy of any care from his Majesty or his ministers that may otherwise be usefully employed to his service. Your Lordship will please to understand this expression according to the common acceptation, where the prevailing and guiding party is taken for a nation, though the better—and sometimes the greater number—are borne away by the art and power they have gained; which here is so clearly the case that great numbers of the most interested persons are violently thrust to slavery by the unseasonable inconsiderate ambition of some of the clergy. This digression from the business of his Majesty and the Queen’s letters concerning your Lordship and of your instructions to Mr. Rawlins, is to let you see that what value soever I set upon your company and assistance in the King’s service, yet I was not so indulgent to my own content as to purchase it with the hazard of bringing your Lordship into the state I am in, which is such that I can neither

promise myself safety in remaining in it or getting out of it or that I can perish usefully to the King or with much honour to myself. These being now the only considerations I have in sight I need not trouble your Lordship with any discourse upon the propositions you sent me, since in either of the events I have cause to expect there will be here no use—as to the King—of anything of supply, and if anything divert those events I shall have time to advertise it to your Lordship and the ambassadors and to expect the mentioned supplies about the spring, the principal part whereof I shall esteem your person to be, both in relation to the success of the King's service and the particular satisfaction of your Lordship's faithful humble servant." [*Copy by Dr. George Clarke.*]

G[ILBERT] MABBOTT to his brother [in-law, WILLIAM CLARKE].

1650, October 19—Parliamentary intelligence. It is reported that our fleet has taken above twenty Brazil ships. The army with the Lord Deputy was in such want of provisions that he sent eight hundred of the ablest with a body of horse towards Athlone and the rest to Sir Hardress Waller in co. Limerick where they "are waiting what God will do in carrying them over the Shannon."

COLONELS CHARLES FLEETWOOD, GEORGE MONCK and other officers to COLONEL JOHN DOWNES, in the chair of the Committee of the Army.

1650, October 19. Edinburgh—Asking that Mr. [William] Clarke may be appointed [secretary] in the place of Captain Deane, who is to be employed by the Commissioners for Ireland. *Copy. Printed in the "Clarke Papers," Vol. II., p. 224.*

KIMPTON HILLIARD to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CLARKE.

1650, October 29. Axe Yard—*Printed in the "Clarke Papers," Vol. II., p. 225.*

#### SCOTLAND.

1650, November 1—"Intelligence that Middleton's body on the 29th October was at a pass about six miles beyond Johnstown [Perth] and had about eight thousand men. Huntley, a Colonel, and the regiment of them are all in a body. The King at this time seemed very discontented.

Friday Middleton was to have come to St. Johnston's, but refused.

Lord Ogilvy and Tillibere [Tullibardine] came in and the Chancellor and Lord Lorne went out as pledges.

They desire acceptance, else to have leave to march through the country and fight the enemy and they should not come within six miles of the Court.

Friday and Saturday last were boated over near Johnstown about two thousand horse and about fifteen hundred dragoons, not any foot; the dragoons were lately mounted.

Warning was given to all the nobility, gentry and ministers from the King and estates to be at Johnstown 28th instant and to debate of some overtures between them and Middleton.

The King is there. Middleton's party increase daily. Holborne commands at Stirling. Much talk that Straghan will join with the English.

The King's crowning should have been at Stirling 22nd October, then appointed 29th, but nothing done or prepared in order thereto.

David Lesley's troopers give out they will not draw a sword against Middleton.

From the north of Scotland we understand that it is generally rising. Not a gentleman hath two sons, but sends in one of them at least, and there are a thousand noblemen and gentlemen confederated together.

Dundee is kept for the Estates by one Lawe's regiment.

One Mackloutherris hath brought up a regiment from the furthest Highlands, who the most part have pieces of rough hides on their feet instead of shoes.

Middleton and that party are quartered about Forfar, the chief town of privilege in Angus.

There is only Arnett's regiment of horse left in Fife.

They are hard at work at Bruntisland.

At Stirling there are four regiments of foot, all Highlanders, and four troops of horse.

They have given over fortifying at Stirling."

*Endorsed by Wm. Clarke, "Intelligence concerning the enemy."*

JOSEPH FROST to WILLIAM CLARKE in Edinburgh.

1650, November 9. Whitehall—This week has brought intelligence of the death of the Prince of Orange at the Hague of small-pox. His decease cannot but make great "changes in the councils of the Scotch boy. It is very observable that no sooner had he espoused the quarrel of that wicked Scotch family and set himself to help to re-set up that tyranny which the Lord in his mercy had thrown down, but the Lord cut him off. He hath left his lady\* big with child and laden with that often imprecation of her father—God so deal by me and mine, &c." Rupert is again at sea with a considerable number of ships and has taken two merchant ships, "but I make no question that his piracies are steps to his destruction." *Seal with arms and crest.*

T[HOMAS] M[ARGETTS] to WILLIAM CLARKE in Edinburgh.

1650, November 12. Whitehall—Our talk here is of (1) the reformation of law; (2) the "reformation of names of months and days, as that instead of January, February, &c., Sunday,

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\* Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I.

Monday, &c., we shall only say the first, second, &c., month or day; (3) that for the preventing of drunkenness a law will be made that none shall drink to another; (4) that some course will be taken to set all idle and poor persons on work, nay that none shall be in the Commonwealth, but shall be so provided for as that he [be] useful and serviceable to it in some way or other." Awhile ago Major Browne, governor of Upnor Castle, was at a Court of War cashiered the army for false musters, neglect of duty and other misdemeanours. Two soldiers are to ride the wooden horse and to be whipped at the cart's tail in Smithfield for assaulting two citizens there on the night of the 5th of November.

T[HOMAS] M[ARGETTS] to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1650, November 16. Whitehall—It is hinted here that our late Lord General shall be general in Holland, in the room of the late Prince of Orange. I hope we in England—if God succeed you in Scotland—shall fall into a good settlement. Abundance of those they call ranters are in several parts, and truly the reports of them render them stark mad. To-day a soldier rode the wooden horse at Paul's, with two muskets at each heel, another was whipped at the limbers of a piece of ordnance from Paul's Guard to the Old Exchange, and to have thirty stripes for expressing some ranting opinions. On Monday Mr. Johnston is to be shot for killing a fellow-soldier, and on Tuesday a soldier is to be hanged for running from his colours at the place where Charing Cross stood.

JOHN SHERWIN to COL. DEANE and COL. POPHAM at Whitehall.

1650, November 26. Liverpool—I sent an account of my proceedings to you on the 8th inst., as also a parcel of letters which I took in Bartlett's vessel at the Isle of Man. I received some damage in the storm, but am endeavouring reparation, and "if God will please to send fair weather I make no question but to be at sea suddenly; that I may endeavour the restraining of one Bradshaw, an old papist Isle of Man pirate, from committing any more insolencies." *Seal with device.*

JOHN RUSHWORTH to WILLIAM CLARKE in Edinburgh.

1650, November 30. London—Parliament hath passed an order that the Justices of the Peace are to put out of every city, corporation or market town all ministers who do not subscribe the Engagement. They have also ordered a day for framing a subscription to be signed by everyone in the House approving the justice done upon the King, "which is like to make a great root amongst those that were not at the trial." There is to be a petition to Parliament for rooting lawyers out of the House, namely to desire that they may either follow the service of the House or their profession. Captain Fry has put forth a book

entitled, "*A hearty desire that his countrymen may noe longer be deceived by such as call themselves the ministers of the Gospell,*" complaining that such men, when they begin their prayers before their sermons, demean themselves as fools and knaves in stage plays, making wry mouths, squint eyes and screwed faces, and like a company of conjurers do mumble out the beginning of their sermons."

I received both yours of the 22nd November. Send often "but write very cautiously unless you write in shorthand, for a member of the House told me this day that one Captain Clarke, meaning Mr. William Clarke, did write in his letter of 22nd November disaffectedly, whereas it only related the soldiers' wants and expectation of money. I am sorry truth should be so ill-resented." [*The last paragraph only in Rushworth's own hand.*]

THOMAS MARGETTS to WILLIAM CLARKE in Edinburgh.

1650, November 30. Whitehall—Yesterday there came intelligence of a rising in Suffolk and Norfolk, but no particulars. It gave us great alarm and we sat up almost all last night dispatching messengers to the several garrisons to command extraordinary care. Colonel Rich is posted down into Suffolk and Colonel Walton to Lynn, and all the officers in town belonging to you in Scotland or to the southern garrisons and regiments, are ordered by the Council of State to repair to their charges forthwith. I hear it is intended that every member of the House that will not subscribe to the legality of the King's death shall not sit there. "I wish we may not engage in and entertain more than we have parts or interest to bring about. Yesterday Colonel Barkstead was busy in examining of a business of scandal upon his Excellency the Lord G[eneral] C[romwell] and himself. A woman of ill report gave out that his Excellency had been often with her, and bragged up and down of it, and that he used to give her 20s. a time. The Colonel the same, and he used to give her 40s. This only to make thee merry and to be used at discretion."

THOMAS FULFORD to WILLIAM CLARKE, attending the Lord General Cromwell at Edinburgh.

1650, December 7—Giving an account of his valiant deeds at Hamilton.

LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

1650, December 19. [Edinbùrgh]—Proclamation that in accordance with the articles of a treaty between himself and Col. Walter Dundas, governor of Edinburgh Castle, all persons having goods in the castle are to have liberty to repair thither and fetch them forth between the 19th and 24th insts. *Draft, of which the first few lines are in longhand and the rest in shorthand, the beginning being also repeated in shorthand at the end.* [*Printed in "Cromwell's Letters, &c.," Vol. III., p. 99.*]

*Enclosed*: The key to a numerical cypher.

[COL. EDWARD POPHAM to the COUNCIL OF STATE?]

[1650?]-Capt. Richard Badiley, who commands this ship [the *Happy Entrance*] under me, begs leave of absence to follow a suit in London, but his presence here is so necessary that although I would gladly show him all favour I cannot grant his request without prejudice to the service of the State. His adversary purposes to take advantage of his absence to delay the trial and escape out of England, wherefore my earnest request is that you will grant him a writ of *ne exeat regnum*, that when he is able he may know where to find his remedy. *Draft.*

MALACHI THRUSTON to [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM].

[1650?]-I formerly prayed your help to procure me a fellowship in the University, when you desired me to inform you in what college I desire to be. I was educated in Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, "and have in the same college a strict relation of propriety to a fellowship founded by one Mr. Peter Blundell, sometimes living in the city. That gentleman, when he died, left your grandfather, Sir John Popham, in trust with a great deal of his estate to be employed for pious uses. Some of that estate was by Sir John Popham's immediate direction and management bestowed in founding two fellowships with as many scholarships in the above-named college," which fellowships have been vacant for a long time, one having been void for about ten years. I beg your assistance to get an order from the Committee for the Universities that I may enter upon that fellowship to which I have so good a claim. I should have acquainted your brother, Colonel Alexander Popham, with this matter had he been in London, he being a feoffee of Mr. Blundell's lands, but in his absence I address myself to you.

#### OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

[1650?]-Reasons given in by Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Thomas Barlow to the Committee [for the Universities?] why the ancient fellows "of colleges (*i.e.*, those of above ten years' standing as Masters of Arts), should not be deprived, viz.:—That it would unjustly take away the said fellows' rights and livelihood; would lessen the honour of the University abroad by leaving in it only young and unknown men; would deprive the colleges of experienced officers and young scholars of learned tutors; and would lead many of those deprived to turn papists. Also that all the experienced students of Civil Law and of Medicine would thus be turned out. [*Apparently in relation to the question of terminable fellowships, mooted towards the end of 1649.*]

#### THE SAME.

[1650?]-Additional reasons by Dr. Baldwin and Mr. Barlow, combating the statement that men of this standing are useless and unprofitable.



## E. M[OSSE] to KING CHARLES II.

[1651, January 1]—Your Majesty was pleased to suspend the execution of the sentence of death upon petitioner's husband, John Mosse, and to agree to his exchange for Sir James Lumsdale, whereon she made her suit to General Cromwell, "by whom it is thought very unequal, yet—in regard of your petitioner's miserable condition, though he cannot own your petitioner's husband as a member of the army—is willing to exchange [blank] for him." She therefore prays that "as a sweet pledge of your Majesty's gracious and auspicious reign your sacred Majesty will please upon this happy day of your Majesty's coronation" to agree to the said exchange and release petitioner's husband, and so "engage her and her poor babes for ever to pray for your Majesty's long and glorious reign over us." *Draft by William Clarke. On the same sheet as Cromwell's Proclamation, above.*

## [E. MOSSE] to the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[1651, January 1]—His sacred Majesty was pleased to spare the life of petitioner's husband and to declare by the hand of Lord Lothian that he would accept an exchange. Sir James Lumsdale, who was named, being thought by General Cromwell too considerable, petitioner prays that his Majesty may be moved to accept [blank] propounded in exchange for him "and upon this happy day of his inauguration to release him, which will render his Majesty's fame eminent to all nations for his piety and mercy." *Draft by Wm. Clarke, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

## ADMIRALTY COMMITTEE.

1650[-51], March 3—Reference of the petition of Cornelia Felders, &c., concerning the prisoners at Colchester [*see p. 98 below*] to the Generals of the Fleet, who are to discharge the boys under 14 years of age, and to release or exchange the others as they shall find cause.

## JAMES FRESE to LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX and his Council of War.

1650[-51], March 4. The Fleet prison—The avenging hand of God's judgment is gone forth against this nation for their backsliding and non-performance of their promises for the advance of God's honour and glory. "Unless this be speedily by you performed—before the meeting of your enemies, appearing from the north—the thrones of iniquity by you raised at Westminster, the power of the judges and ministers thereof, who call themselves Christians, but are of the synagogue of Satan and instruments of injustice, tyranny and oppression, quite abolished, and the cruel strongholds of Satan—called gaols and prisons—demolished and laid open, the poor relieved, the oppressed righted and the enslaved set free, you cannot, you

must not, nay, you shall not prosper." I beseech you, if there be any true love in you to Christ or bowels of mercy and compassion towards his oppressed members, not only to think on these things but to accomplish them speedily before your departure from London. *With references to Psalms x., xiv., xxiv., lxxvii. and cxi.*

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE to the GENERALS OF THE FLEET.

1650[-51], March 18. Aboard the *Rainbow* in Plymouth Sound—Concerning ships for Scilly. *Signed.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONELS POPHAM and BLAKE, at Whitehall.

1650[-51], March 19. Aboard the *Speaker* in Lee Road—Complaining of his trouble in "getting down the boats that are to go for Scotland." *Signed.*

THOMAS WHITE to COLONEL POPHAM, in London.

1650-1, March 24. Dover—According to your command I sent a man to Calais to enquire what arms there were to be shipped, but he could hear of none at Calais, Boulogne or Dunkirk, neither could he hear of any man called Captain Titus.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, March 25. Aboard the *Rainbow* in Plymouth Sound—Excusing himself for not having left a ship in the Downs to convoy the provision ships to Plymouth, and stating his conviction that the *Guinea* frigate and the *Warwick* will not be a sufficient guard for Scilly. [*Dated March 25, 1650, but evidently by mistake.*]

SIR WILLIAM MASHAM to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, March 27—Recommending Mr. John Tucker of Wye in Kent, heir to a considerable estate, who wishes to serve as a volunteer on board his ship. *Signed.*

EDWARD ASHE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, March 28. Fenchurch Street—I must trouble you to send me your letter to the Commander-in-Chief in the Downs to let us have a convoy for Stephen Rogers for Calais; it is but twenty-four hours' work. "Our trade is at present very small, and if we cannot get convoy the trade will be lost, for the Dutch have convoys to supply their markets daily."

## COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, April 1. Edinburgh—I am sorry to hear the bad tidings from Guernsey. We are still besieging Blackness, and expect to storm daily. From the other side we hear nothing. There is come from thence Lord Waleston [Warriston], but his business I know not. *Signed.*

## WILLIAM ROWE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, April 1. Whitehall—"My brother, Captain Scott, now in Scotland, having brought with him from Ireland a handsome young gentlewoman, his wife, they are so passionate in their affections each to other that he desires and she is willing to go by sea to Scotland." It would be a favour if directions could be given to the captain of the convoy going for Scotland to give her and her maid accommodation in his ship.

## [COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.]

1651, April 1. Narrative of proceedings of the fleet from this date until August 7th:—

1651, April 1st, I came aboard the *James* riding in the Hope, the wind then at S.W. Here were then riding in the Hope the *Satisfaction*, the 10th *Whelp*, the *Giles*, the *Seven Brothers*, the *Reformation*, the *Defence*, and the *Charles*; this evening came down the *Happy Entrance*. The wind continued at S.W. and blew hard. The *Seven Brothers* and the *Reformation* fell down into the Downs. The 3rd the wind continued S.W., a fresh gale. The 4th the wind W., fair weather. The 5th the wind was at S.W., a great gale; this evening with the flood I went up for London, where I stayed the 6th and 7th; the 8th came down again, the wind then E., fair weather. The 9th it blew a fresh gale at N.E. The 10th the wind about four in the morning was at N. and N.N.W.; about six in the morning it came about E. This day passed by us several Dutch vessels bound for Lisbon, which we stayed in the Downs and sent up to London by order from the Council of State. The 11th the wind was E., little wind in the morning, towards noon a fresh gale; about two of the clock in the afternoon about high water we weighed and set sail and got down as low as Lee Road. The 12th the wind E., fair weather; with the first of the ebb in the afternoon we weighed and turned down as low as the Nore, and came to an anchor a little to the northward of the Nore. The 13th in the morning came to me a messenger from the Council of State with an order to me to send over the *Happy Entrance*, the *Constant Warwick* and *Elizabeth* frigates to lie on the coast of Holland to follow such orders as they shall receive from our ambassadors in Holland and to command one of the said ships to receive the said messenger aboard, whereupon I immediately ordered the *Happy Entrance* for that service. The wind still hung E., towards evening it was thick and foggy, so we rode fast here this day.

The 14th the wind was E. and thick weather all day, so we rode fast. The 15th, about four in the morning, it being clear weather and the wind E. we turned down and anchored off Whitaker's beacon, where we stopped the tide of flood, and stayed there till the next morning. The 16th, about four in the morning, we weighed again with the wind E., fair weather, we stopped again off the Naze till towards four in the afternoon, and then we weighed again; the wind came about to the S.S.E., little wind. About eight at night we anchored again, thwart of Harwich; after we were at an anchor the wind came up W. and W.N.W. and blew fresh. The 17th we weighed about four in the morning with the wind N. and N.N.E., a fresh gale, and came to an anchor in the Downs about two of the clock in the afternoon, where we found only the *Victory*. The 18th the wind was at N.N.E. I ordered the *Whelp* to convoy two vessels from Dover to Callis [Calais]; this day came down Captain Bennett in the *Defence* with seven vessels bound for Roane [Rouen] and went away with them. This day the wind came about to the W. and W.S.W. and blew a fresh gale; towards the evening came in the *Seven Brothers* out of the river of Thames and the *Defence* with his convoy bound to the Seinehead, who had met with two Irish men-of-war, the *Francis* and the *Patrick*, and fought with them two hours; he received many shot from them in his hull and divers between wind and water; this evening likewise came in fifty sail of fishermen for mackerel from the coast of Sussex. The 20th it blew hard at N.W. all the morning; about noon it was less wind, and then it came about to the N.E. The 21st it blew fresh N. in the morning, towards noon less wind at N.E. This day came down the *Eagle* with two hoys bound for Shoreham and Arundel that came from London. The 22nd the wind continued E. and N.E. The *Defence* and *Victory* set sail for the westward with the convoy bound for the Seinehead, and the *Whelp* set sail to be a guard to the mackerel fishery. The 23rd the wind still continued E. and N.E.; about noon came in the *Elizabeth* frigate from Portsmouth, whom I immediately dispatched away to look after the Irish frigates, which I had intelligence were on the coast. I likewise ordered the *Seven Brothers* to go away in company with him, which was [done] accordingly between two and three in the afternoon. The 24th the wind was at N.E., fair weather and a fresh gale of wind; this day came down a Flushingier from Gravesend laden with corn, bound for the Canaries, who informed that he left there the *Constant Warwick* and the *Discovery*. The 25th the wind still continued between the N. and the E., fair weather, this day the *Mayflower* pink set sail with a convoy that came from Portsmouth, bound up the river. The 26th the wind continued E., a fresh gale all the morning; in the afternoon it was less wind and more N. This afternoon came in the *Constant Warwick* out of the river, whom I immediately ordered away for the coast of Holland. This evening came in the *Nicodemus* frigate, whom I presently ordered to the westward to clear the coast of many small picaroons

that did much mischief there, who accordingly set sail to the westward. The 27th the wind was at N.W., this morning with the latter end of the ebb the *Constant Warwick* set sail for the coast of Holland; towards noon the wind came up S.E. and S.S.E., where it remained not long, but was very variable; towards the evening it was at W.S.W. and S.W., a fresh gale. The 28th the wind was at S.W. and S., fair weather; towards noon little wind, then it came to the S.E. and the E. and E.N.E. The 29th it blew very fresh northerly and N.E.; towards the afternoon it came to the S.W. and W.S.W., and towards the evening to the N.W. The 30th the wind was N.E. all day, little wind; towards evening came in two Hollanders from Norway laden with deals bound for London. They met with two men-of-war off the Tessel [Texel], they supposed them Irish frigates, that plundered them of many things. The 1st of May the wind in the morning was W., towards noon E. again, then S. and S. and by W. and S.E., little wind and fair weather. The 2nd the wind was N. in the morning and N.W. The *Victory*, *Defence* and the *Expectation* from Naples came in, who brought news that the convoy was gone to Smyrna, that Captain Penn with his squadron of frigates lay between Malta and Sicily, that the *Lion* and the *Hopeful Luke* were coming home with the convoy from Malaga and Cales [Cadiz] and eight prizes that had been taken, but what they were he knew not; and he supposed they would be here with the first wind. The 3rd it was calm all the morning and a fog towards noon, and afterwards a fresh gale at N.E. and E.N.E. The 4th the wind continued E., a very fresh gale, and E. and by S. and E.S.E., much wind. The 5th in the morning we weighed with the wind at E., fresh gale, and finding a Flemish vessel that came in from Bordeaux, suspicious that she might be bound for Scotland, we sent some men aboard of her to carry her into Dover Pier till she could get an order to have her cleared. When I came into Dover Road I found a Hollander, a Lubecker and a Hamburger newly come to an anchor there, I sent my boat aboard of them and found they came from Cales. I found there likewise three small Ostend men-of-war, who had with them four prizes, two whereof I found belonging to Scilly, these I sent into Dover Pier, the others being French vessels I let them alone; here I anchored this night. The 6th in the morning I weighed with the wind at N.N.W. and the *Victory*, and stood over for Callis Road. I saw three frigates, two small ones, one great one of about thirty guns, but I could not get near them, I suppose the enemy's, newly come out of Dunkirk. The tide of flood being come I anchored in Callis Road with the *Victory*; there came over in company a hoy from Dover laden with goods, who put her goods aboard of a shallop and sent them into Callis. The 7th, about three in the morning, we weighed with the wind N. and stood over for the English coast, little wind, then it came about S. and S.S.W. We saw a frigate, as we supposed, that came out of the Downs, who plying off it with the wind S. towards us, was forced to anchor off of the South Foreland, so we stopped that tide, too, and anchored in

Dover Road. With the tide of ebb we weighed and stood off again to sea, with the wind at S.S.W., thick weather, then it came about to the S.S.E. and was like to blow, so we anchored as soon as it was dark. The 8th the wind was at S.S.W., very thick foggy weather, so we rode fast, and about one of the clock in the afternoon descried some ships. The *Victory* made a shot at them and they came in to us, the one was the *Dragon*, the other the *Merchant Adventure*, come from Portsmouth with some small vessels; shortly after we descried other ships, who were some English ships come from Malaga, Cales, St. Lucar and Toloune [Toulon], who informed us that the *Lion* and the *Hopeful Luke* came along with them, but that they had lost them the day before; so it being like to prove ill weather, thick and much wind, we stood into the Downs with them with the wind at S.W. and W.S.W., much wind; we came to an anchor about seven at night, then the wind came up at N.W. and blew very hard. The 9th we saw the *Lion* at anchor, who came into the Downs in the night, and the *Hopeful Luke* with the prizes and other merchant ships with them; the wind blew hard at N.N.W. and then came about to the S.W. In the afternoon came in the *Unity*, who told me she lost the *Reason* off Scilly, shortly after came in the *Reason*; it blew a storm of wind at S. and S.S.E., which lasted about two hours, and then came to the S.S.W. and S.W. and blew less wind, but by gusts. The 10th it blew a storm of wind at S.S.W. and S.W.; this day about noon came in the *Elizabeth* frigate from the westward with some other vessels he took and a small Frenchman. The 11th the wind was E. and E.S.E. and S.E., towards noon much wind at S.S.W. and S.W., where it continued. The 12th the wind was at S., it blew much wind all day; towards the evening it came to the S.S.W. About six in the afternoon came in the *Martha* of London, John Whittleby master, from Virginia. The 13th the wind was S., a fine gale, not much wind, this day came down the *Richard* and *Benjamin* bound with a convoy for St. Lucar, the *Whelp* and the *Blessing* bound for Ireland, with other vessels; towards night the wind came up at N.W., little wind. The 14th the wind was at S.W. and S.S.W. and blew hard; there being several ships that lay at anchor off the north sands end, where they had rode five or six days, with foul weather and southerly winds, I ordered the *Elizabeth* to go up amongst them to see what they were. The 15th the wind was at S.W. and S.S.W., this day the *Elizabeth* returned, having visited the ships at the north sands head, who brought word that there were several Hollanders, some light, some laden with goods bound for Genoa, some for Ligorne [Leghorn], some for Cales, some for other places in the Straits. They had with them three men-of-war to convoy them, who had commissions likewise to take all French they met withal. The 16th, early in the morning, we weighed with this ship, the *Victory*, the *Elizabeth* and the *Dragon*, but the *Unity* and *Reason* did not make way to weigh, so we sent to them and caused them to weigh, the wind was at W.S.W., fair weather; then it came to the N.W. and N., but it came back

again to the S.S.W. and S.W. We stood over for Dunkirk Road, where we came to an anchor about nine that night. The 17th the wind came about to the E. and E.N.E., fair weather, foggy in the morning till seven or eight of the clock. I ordered the *Dragon* and the *Reason* to stand away for Ostend, where I was informed there rode two frigates of the enemy's, the *Francis* and the *Patrick*, who had taken two or three English prizes. This day the Governor of Dunkirk sent to me to know whether we came as allies or enemies to the crown of France, that he might accordingly inform his master, to which I presently returned answer that I came not thither with any hostile intentions either against himself or the place he commanded unless I were provoked to it by any hostile actions of his. The 18th the wind was S. and S.E. and S.S.E.; in the morning came out a Lubecker from Dunkirk that had nothing in her but ballast, so she was dismissed, we made ships in the offing about five o'clock in the afternoon, which we supposed to be some of the rogues and their prizes standing in for Dunkirk, whereupon I sent men aboard of the *Unity*, and ordered her to weigh and stand nearer the pier to see if she could cut them off from going in; the wind came about to the W. and W.S.W.; towards night came in the *Hopeful Luke*, so I ordered her to anchor in Captain Reeves his berth in the narrow to the W. and ordered the *Elizabeth* to look after those vessels which we saw very near the shore just in the close of the evening. The 19th, this morning early, came in the *Greyhound* with the wind at W.S.W. I presently ordered her and the *Unity* to go within the sands and the *Elizabeth* without to see what those ships were that we had descried the night before, which were at an anchor. As soon as they saw them they endeavoured to get away with all the sail they could make, and ours stood after them; about noon came in the *Happy Entrance* hither, and after her the *Reason* to give me an account that the *Dragon*, seeing the *Elizabeth* chase, followed her; Captain Coppin informed me that he had the day before met with a States man-of-war, who had a convoy of Flushingers under his charge bound for London, but having met with a great frigate of Dunkirk of thirty-six guns and two other small frigates had fought with him, wounded the captain, killed and wounded many of his men and took all his convoy for him; we suppose these to be the ships with their prizes that we had seen the night before; it blew very fresh all this day at W.S.W. and S.W. The 20th the wind continued at S.W. and W.S.W., a fresh gale in the afternoon. The ketch returned about four of the clock, whom we manned and sent to pursue the enemy's frigates and their prizes, who informed us that one of the frigates and all their prizes were run ashore at Newport and that the *Dragon*, *Elizabeth* and *Greyhound* were in pursuit of the great frigate of thirty-six guns, who they believe was gone into Ostend. The 21st, about two of the clock in the morning, I dispatched away the ketch to Newport with a letter to the Governor by Mr. Fowler to demand the frigate and prizes that were forced ashore there; the wind was at S.W. and W.S.W. About four of the clock in

the afternoon came in the *Unity*, shortly after the *Elizabeth* and *Dragon*, by whom I was informed of the great frigate of Dunkirk of thirty-six guns running into Ostend, where she was seized by the Governor and all the men stopped up in prison. The 22nd the wind continued between the S.W. and the W. I called a council of war this day, wherein several things were debated, both for the blocking up the harbour and in relation to our several berths, as also touching the attempting, the firing or surprising the frigate of the enemy that lay within the splinter under the fort. About eleven o'clock this day the *Sandwich* pink came in and brought me a packet from Captain Birkdale, whom I immediately dispatched away with an answer, and accordingly he set sail about two of the clock in the afternoon this day. The 23rd, early in the morning, I received a letter from Mr. Fowler, and in it a letter enclosed from the Governor of Newport by the ketch, signifying to me that of himself he could do nothing in answering my desires, but that he had sent away to Brussels and he doubted not of a speedy return, according to the tenor whereof I should hear further from him. I sent away the *Unity* to Newport to fetch thence Mr. Fowler; the wind was this day S.W. and W.S.W., a fresh gale towards the evening. The 24th the wind was at S.W. and S.W. to W. This morning came two merchants from England in a Dover shallop, who were interested in the prizes taken by the Dunkirkers and forced ashore by us at Newport, they stayed not but presently set sail for Newport; fair weather in the morning, but much wind in the afternoon. The 25th the wind was at S.W. and W.S.W., little wind and fair weather. The 26th we weighed and came to an anchor more W. off of Mardike Hook, little wind, that that was, was W. and S.W.; in the afternoon the wind came up E. and was at E.N.E. In the evening the *Entrance* set sail for England to supply herself with fresh water. I sent with her the hoy rescued from the enemy and the ketch that I hired at Dover to bring us hither; the *Unity* returned from Newport; this night came some merchants from London to look after their goods that had been forced ashore at Newport, who presently went away thither. The 27th it was little wind all the morning at N.W. and W.N.W. and W., in the afternoon towards the evening tide I ordered the *Dragon* to ply out to sea on the back side of the sands, and to look now and then into Ostend Road and before Newport and to enquire whether the prizes forced in there were likely to be restored to their owners or no, and whether the enemies were likely to have the men-of-war again or no that we might accordingly look out for them. The 28th the wind was N.; in the morning we descried a sail in the offing and sent the ketch to see what she was, who brought her to us; she was a small sloop of Ostend, whom upon examination we discharged; there were brought in likewise a shallop and a bilander that came from Flushing, the one bound for Diepe, the other for Roane [Rouen], upon the account of merchants in Flushing, whom we likewise discharged; it blew fresh in the afternoon at N.N.E. The 29th came in a hoy of Flushing from Sunderland laden with coal



bound for Dunkirk, but I would not permit her to go in, so she went away for Newport, the wind was at N.E., a fine gale; towards the evening came in another ketch from Flushing bound for Dunkirk laden with wine, but belonging to a merchant in Flushing. I would not suffer him to go into Dunkirk, so he went for Newport, and I sent the ketch along with him to see him thither. The 30th the wind was N.N.E., a fresh gale of wind all day, in the morning a small sloop came from Flushing bound into Dunkirk, whom I stopped and sent back again; this day I received a letter from the Governor of Dunkirk, desiring to know the reason why I stopped vessels coming into that port, to whom by the advice of the Council of War I returned answer; for this reason I stopped them, because I knew not whether they might belong to any enemies of ours in that port or no, and so I dismissed the messenger. The 31st May the *Greyhound* seized on a prize formerly taken by the *Santa Clara* of Jersey and sent into Dunkirk; she belonged to Lynn, coming from Sunderland, bound home, was taken, and finding the *Greyhound* was like to surprise her again the men took the boat and run ashore near Dunkirk and left the vessel, so the *Greyhound* brought her in; the wind was N.E., sometimes more N., fair weather and little wind; towards evening came in the *Dragon* from Ostend, who gave me an account of several transactions there between him and the Governor and concerning a small vessel of the enemy protected there by the Governor. The 1st of June the wind still continued at N.E., an indifferent fresh gale; about noon came in the ketch from Newport, who brought me a letter from the Governor signifying to me that the Court at Brussels had referred the business concerning the prizes to the Court of Admiralty at Briggess [Bruges?], whose sentence and judgment was now to be expected; this evening a small man-of-war got into Dunkirk by the *Greyhound*, who made several shots at him and did him some prejudice, but he escaped by us. The 2nd it blew very fresh at N.E. and E.N.E. all day; this day the packet boat brought me a packet from the Council of State, ordering me to send two ships to Goree to attend the ambassadors in Holland and two more to the westward to look out for the East India ships and to convoy them hence. The 3rd the wind was at N.E. and E.N.E., little wind all day, I ordered the *Dragon* to go for Ostend to fetch thence the *Peter* frigate, which had been sent thither by the Lord Deputy of Ireland to transport Irish soldiers, who I heard was detained there and belonged to the State of England. The *Entrance* and the *Margate* hoy came in this day out of England. The 4th the wind came about to the W.S.W. and blew very fresh, this day I ordered the *Victory* and *Elizabeth* to go to the westward, who accordingly about two of the clock in the afternoon set sail, fair weather and little wind, and by them I sent hence the ketch with coal rescued from the enemy that came from Sunderland, and was rescued again by the *Greyhound* and ketch and brought in hither; about five in the afternoon the wind came up to the W.N.W., fair weather and little wind. The 5th, in the morning,

it was thick and foggy, little wind, till towards eight of the clock, then it came up at N.E., a fresh gale, and continued there all day between that and the N.N.E. This evening came by the Ostend packet boat, who informed me that the *Dragon* in Ostend Road had made stay of an Ostender of twenty-eight guns. About noon came the *Orange Tree* of Flushing, Christopher de Vinte master, out of Dunkirk, who had nothing in but ballast and was bound for Rochelle. The 6th it blew fresh at N.E. and N.N.E. About noon this day came out the *St. Peter* of Harling in Freesland from Dunkirk bound for Newcastle, light. The 7th, in the morning, the wind was at N.E. and blew fresh, then it came to the N.N.E. and the N.N.W.; towards the evening came in a Dutch sloop from Ostend with some merchants that had been in Flanders to look for their goods that had been rescued from the enemy and were forced ashore at Newport; shortly after we descried another sloop, to whom one of our vessels gave chase, and found him to be a sloop come out from Ostend, who had purposely pursued the other sloop that the English merchants were in, for which reason I made stay of him. The 8th it was thick and foggy, the wind at N. and N. to W., it blew hard. This morning the *Entrance*—in regard the wind was out of the way for her to go to Holland—I ordered to convoy the small vessel that came from Ostend to England and then to lose no opportunity of repairing to Goree to the lords ambassadors there to attend their commands. The 9th, in the morning, the wind was at N.N.W., a fresh gale, in the afternoon less wind and more westerly. The 10th it blew very fresh northerly in the afternoon, and towards night it was less wind. About four in the afternoon came hither the *Fortune* of Flushing, a sloop, Andrew Clanclean master, from Dunkirk, light, bound for St. Ouen and from thence for Flushing, he said the town was full of soldiers, but that there was only large frigates and three othér small vessels not fitted to sail. This day the hoy brought in a Dane laden with deals, pitch and tar that came from Coppenhaven [Copenhagen] pretended for Flushing, and that he was coming to Dunkirk to look for a pilot. He had upon him a French merchant, which he pretended to be only a passenger, he had no bills of lading, therefore I sent him home for Dover; the skipper informed me that there were ten thousand Swedes ready to be shipped at Stockholm and eighteen sail of ships ready there to take them in, whither they were intended he knew not, but he heard for Dantsicke. I ordered the *Dragon* to carry him for Dover; the wind was N. and blew fresh in the morning, but less wind in the afternoon. The 12th, early in the morning, the packet boat, as he came from Ostend, left me several packets; the wind was N., but little wind all day. The 13th it was little wind at W. to N. and W.N.W., this day I permitted the Ostend shallop that I had made stay of, upon suspicion that she had an intent to pillage some English gentleman that came out of Ostend, [to depart], in regard nothing could be directly charged upon them. This afternoon came in

the *Dragon* from England, whom I presently ordered back again to England with a packet to the Council of State, and to remain thereabouts till Tuesday night; in the meantime to range the coast of France and England and call in again at Dover on Tuesday night for a packet, and if he found none there to return again hither. The 14th it was little wind, that that was, was sometimes E., sometimes N. About noon came in a boat with a letter from the Governor of Ostend, signifying to me that the *Peter* frigate, which I had formerly demanded as belonging to the Parliament of England and was then under restraint by order from the Earl of Fuensaldaña, should be released to any to whom I should give orders for the receiving of her. The 15th the wind was at S.E. in the morning, fair weather, in the afternoon it came up to the N.W. and N. The 16th was little wind at W.S.W. and S.W. In the morning came in the *Reformation* with a packet from the Downs; he had the day before brought home the convoy from Bilbao. In this packet I was ordered by the Council of State to hasten away another ship to Holland to bring thence the ambassadors, their stay in Holland determining the 20th of this month; whereupon having no other here for that service I immediately ordered the *Reformation* thither. The 17th, early in the morning, the *Reformation* set sail for the coast of Holland with the wind W., where it continued all day, a fresh gale, towards night it came up more S. to the W.S.W. and S.W. The 18th the wind was W. In the morning came in the *Dragon*, who brought me an order from the Council of State to leave here what ships I should judge fit to prevent the pirates from coming out of this harbour of Dunkirk; this day towards the evening I ordered the *Reason* and *Unity* to go to Ostend to take the convoy that were ready there, and so to go from thence to London with them and carry in their ships to be paid off. The 19th the wind came up N., sometimes to the E. of the N., sometimes to the W. of the N. This day, about ten of the clock, I set sail out of Dunkirk Road, according to an order I received from the Council of State, and left behind me there the *Dragon*, the *Greyhound* and the *Margate* hoy to keep in the enemy's frigates. Towards the evening came up a fresh gale of wind N.; about seven o'clock at night we met with a ship of Amsterdam that came from Norway and was bound for the Wight, who reported that the King of Denmark was seized on, was to be brought to his trial and had but three days given him to answer for himself. This night about eleven o'clock we anchored between the South Foreland and the South Sands Head. The 20th, about eight of the clock in the morning, we weighed and came into the Downs, the wind N., and blew very fresh. This evening came into the road the *Mayflower*, bound for New England. The 21st it was little wind at E. and E.S.E.; in the morning came in the *Deborah* from the North Foreland, who had been guarding the fishermen. I presently ordered him to return thither again. The 22nd the wind was E. all the day and blew very hard, especially towards the evening; and then came something to the N. of the E. The 23rd the wind was at S.E. and

S.S.E., in the morning a fresh gale, then little wind at N.W., then S.W., a storm of wind. This day came in the *Crown* fly-boat, a French prize from Cales, and several vessels from Seine-head; towards night less wind, W. The 24th, early in the morning, the *Seven Brothers* with her convoy was forced back from the westward into the Downs; the wind was at N.W. and blew fresh. Several ships came from Plymouth, one that came from Ginney [Guinea], another from New England with two victuallers that had been in the State's service at Scilly; towards evening it was little wind, then it came to S.S.W. and S. The 25th the wind was W., all the ships bound for London set sail this morning, the Ginneyman, New Englandman, those come from Roane [Rouen], &c. This day came in a Dane from St. Mayo [Malo] laden with salt; this evening I ordered the *Lion* to go over with a convoy to Callis. The 26th the wind was at N.W., a fresh gale in the morning, in the afternoon it was more W. and less wind. This day I received an order from the Council of State to go with the *James*, *Lion*, *Reserve*, *President* to the north as high as Berwick and so over to the Sound to see whether I could meet with the Swedish fleet. I presently shot off a gun and loosed my foretopsail to get my men aboard, which the *Dragon* and *Greyhound* seeing, being off of the South Foreland, thinking it had been for them to come in, came in hither. The 27th the wind was at N.W., little wind towards noon, in the afternoon it came about to the S.W. and towards the evening to the W.S.W. The 28th the wind was at W.S.W., a fresh gale; this day came the *Robert* pink by with a convoy from Newhaven and Brighthelmstone bound for London. This day likewise came in the *Vanguard* from the north; towards the evening the wind came about to the N. of the W. and to N.W. and little wind. The 29th the wind was at W.N.W. and N.W., a fresh gale. In the morning several ships came in from Newcastle bound to the westward. The *Roebuck* came in this morning from Guernsey and brought me a packet from the Governor; the *Reserve* came in hither in the afternoon from Yarmouth Roads, whom I ordered to fit herself to be ready to go along with me the next day; little wind towards evening and that W. The 30th we weighed with the wind at W.S.W. with this ship, the *Vanguard*, the *Lion*, the *Dragon* and the *Reserve*, about seven in the morning; it was but an easy gale of wind and like to be thick weather; several vessels came to us from Margate and other places to go along with us to Newcastle; the wind was at S.W. and rain and foggy. About three of the clock in the afternoon it cleared up and then we made Orford church and castle; the wind came about to the W.N.W. and N.W. with rain and gusts of wind. The 1st of July, between four and five in the morning, we were thwart of Yarmouth Road, the wind being W.; all the small vessels bound for Newcastle went into the roads; it blew a fresh gale of wind, sometimes W.N.W., sometimes W.S.W. In the afternoon it was less wind, we saw no sail, only one herring buss, who had made his voyage and was

bound home to Amsterdam, he told us he had seen neither land nor sail for many days. The 2nd the wind was at N.W., a constant steady gale; between seven and eight in the morning we tacked and stood in towards the shore till eight at night, but we came not within sight of the land, but tacked and stood off again to sea; we guessed ourselves to be about the height of Cromer. The 3rd the wind was at N.W., about four in the morning we tacked and stood in again towards the shore; about two in the afternoon we had sight of Cromer at the topmast head, about twelve leagues upon our lee bow; about noon the wind came up to the N. and N. to E. and continued there till night, fair weather and little wind. Between eleven and twelve at night we shot off a gun and came to an anchor, so did the rest of the ships with me in ten fathom water upon the west bank. The 4th the wind was N., windy, rainy and thick weather, so we rode fast all this day; towards night it was less wind. The 5th the wind was N., but thick and wet weather till towards ten of the clock, at which time it clearing up, we weighed and stood in towards the shore; about two of the clock in the afternoon the windward tide being done and the leeward come we all anchored again in fourteen fathom water; towards sunset it cleared up a little and soon the topmast head discerned land. The 6th we weighed about eight in the morning, with the wind N., and stood in towards the shore till twelve o'clock at noon, and then the tide being done we came to an anchor between the Spurn and Flamborough Head; it was fair weather and very little wind; about six at night we weighed again, the wind coming about to the S. and S. and S.W. The 7th, as soon as it was light in the morning, we found ourselves off of Flamborough Head; the wind was at W.S.W. and between that and the W., sometimes it was gusty and sometimes little wind; we came to an anchor off of the Bar of Tynemouth about ten of the clock at night, and presently sent away the boat with a letter to the Trinity House at Newcastle to furnish us with five able pilots for our five ships for the Sound. The 8th I found here the *Success* at an anchor, who came in hither two days before; him I resolved to carry along with me; the wind was this day for the most part W., sometimes to the N. sometimes to the S. of it a point or two, fair weather and little wind we had this day. This evening my boat returned with only two pilots and neither of them acquainted with Gottenburg; three more promising to be aboard the next morning. The 9th the wind was W. in the morning, towards noon little wind, the *Cygnets* came in the morning from Amsterdam. I got my pilots for the Sound aboard and was preparing to set sail, and just as I was ready so to do I received a packet from Mr. Coytmor, wherein he advertised me of an order that the Council of State had sent after me by the *Nonsuch* ketch to command me to hasten back again into the Downs, whereupon I stopped. The wind came about to the S. and then to the E. and towards night back again to the W. This evening the *Cygnets* set sail for the Frith in Scotland. The 10th the wind was W. in the morning, several ships came in from the southward, some bound

for Newcastle, some for Scotland, to which the *Recovery* and *Paradox* were convoys, both which came in hither as they passed by. The wind came about to the E. about noon and S.E., little wind all day; towards night it was at S. and S.S.W. We descried two sail standing in hither about night, which we supposed to be the *Entrance* and *Margate* hoy. The 11th, as soon as it was light in the morning, we found the two ships that we descried in the offing standing in hither to be the *Entrance* and *Margate* hoy, who were come to an anchor by us; the wind was this day at S.S.W. and S.W. and blew pretty fresh in the morning; in the afternoon it came up W. and towards the evening it was less wind. About ten at night came in the *Nonsuch* ketch, who brought me an express from the Council of State commanding my return with all the ships with me into the Downs, whereupon I presently ordered all the pilots that we had taken in here for the Sound to be set ashore, and gave order for our sailing. The 12th, as soon as it was light, we set sail about three in the morning, this ship, the *Vanguard*, the *Lion*, the *Happy Entrance*, the *Reserve*, *Dragon*, *Margate* hoy and *Nonsuch* ketch—with the wind at W.S.W. and S.W. to S. and S.S.W. and about noon it came to the E. of the S. and S.S.E., a fresh gale, rainy and thick weather. The 13th, about one of the clock in the morning, came up a very great gust of wind at W.N.W., it continued much wind W. all this day; about eight in the morning we were off Flamborough Head and about nine at night we came to an anchor four leagues off Cromer, the *Lion* a little before having carried her foretopmast by the board. The 14th it still continued much wind at W.N.W.; we found in the morning the *Reserve's* boatsprit and foremast gone and the *Happy Entrance* a league astern of us, having either broke her cable or drove so far off in the night; the *Margate* hoy and *Nonsuch* ketch we lost sight of, being as we supposed got close under the shore or into Yarmouth Roads. About noon it proved less wind, so we got up our anchors and stood in for the shore, the wind continuing W.; and as soon as we were under sail the ketch and the hoy came off to us, and about eight at night we came to an anchor again between Winterton and Hasborough, and then I ordered the *Reserve* to go to Chatham to fit herself with masts and the hoy to go into Yarmouth Roads to see what vessels were bound for London and convey them thither, and so to return again to her former station. The 15th we weighed about four of the clock in the morning with the wind at W.N.W. and N.W. to W., a fine fresh gale; we went on the back side of the Newark sands, about seven in the morning we were thwart of Yarmouth, the wind coming up to the S.W. We came to an anchor four or five leagues off Orford Ness about six of the clock, and anchored there till twelve that night. The 16th, about one in the morning, we were under sail with the wind at N.W.; about five in the morning we had sight of the North Foreland, it was but little wind, and about nine of the clock in the morning, it being calm, we were enforced to come to an anchor again about five leagues off the Foreland. About twelve at noon

we weighed again with little wind at S.W. and turned into Margate Road, where we came to an anchor again about six at night. The 17th, between six and seven in the morning, we weighed with the wind at E.N.E., a gentle gale, and arrived in the Downs, where we came to an anchor about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, where I found the *Leopard*, the *Reformation*, the *Charles*, the *Seven Brothers*, the *Greyhound*. This afternoon I went ashore at Deal with a resolution to go for London, where I stayed for the dispatch of three months' provision of victuals for Captain Penn's squadron till the 29th, which night I came aboard hither, little wind at S. to E. This night I ordered the *Dragon* to go to Portsmouth to fetch thence the vessels laden with provisions at Portsmouth for Captain Penn's fleet, which the Commissioners by their letter of the 28th instant intimated to me were in readiness there. The 30th the *Dragon* set sail early in the morning with little wind, but E.; in the afternoon it was a fresh gale at E.N.E. and N.E. The 31st the wind in the morning was at E.S.E., then it came to the N. of the E., an easy gale of wind all this day. The 1st of August the wind in the morning was at S.S.W., little wind; towards noon it was at S.W. and blew very fresh. This day I ordered the *Constant Warwick* to stand over for the coast of Flanders and to return again in three days; she set sail between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon. The 2nd the wind was S. and blew fresh, about noon it came to the S.W.; in the evening came in the *Reserve* frigate from Chatham and at the same time came in the *Dolphin*, and *William and Mary* from Ginney. The 3rd the wind was S. in the morning, in the afternoon it was S.W., this evening about seven of the clock came in several ships out of the river bound to the Straits, and the *Expedition*, *Greyhound* and *Nonsuch* ketch, who brought with them two Flemish vessels that had been taken by a pirate and was rescued from him by them, a third prize was fired before those that were in her left her; the men that belonged to the vessels all run ashore near Newport. The 4th the wind was W. and N.W. and then went back again to the westward, it was little wind most part of this day; in the afternoon it was all N., but it stayed not there, but came about to the S. and was at S.S.W. This evening I ordered the *Expedition* to go down into Dover Road and to convoy some vessels from thence bound to Callis, the *Greyhound* likewise having some defective beer I ordered her to go into Dover Road to change it. The 5th the wind in the morning was at W.N.W.; the *Leopard* shot off a gun and loosed his foretopsail to give notice to all vessels to prepare to go with him. About nine of the clock in the morning the wind came up N., about two in the afternoon they all set sail and fell down into Dover Roads, where they all anchored, the *Leopard* being to take in a month's provision at Dover. This day I ordered the *Reserve* frigate to go down into Dover Road and to take there two vessels, one bound for St. Vallery and another for Roane [Rouen] and convoy them to their several ports, who accordingly set sail about four in the afternoon;

the wind was at N. by E. and blew fresh all the afternoon. The 6th the wind continued at N. by E. and blew very fresh; this day came down several merchants ships bound to Malaga and three to Morlaix, whom I ordered the *Expedition* to give convoy to and to stay there three or four days to bring them back again. The 7th the wind still continued N., but not so much of it as was the day before. This day came in the *Merchant* frigate, he brought with him the master and merchant of a ship bound for one of the Charitie Islands, whom I sent into Dover till order should be given for his enlargement. The *Dragon* I sent out this day to lie between Callis and Dover with the *Merchant* frigate to look for two French ships who were coming from Greenland. The wind still continued at N.N.E. all this day and blew a fresh gale; this day came in a Hollander, but he rode so far to the southwards, and the leeward tide being come we could not send our boat aboard of him; he fired a gun as soon as he came in and a pilot went off to him from Deal.

COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, April 2. Taunton—I hope to hold to my resolution of being in Plymouth by the end of this week. “According to the enclosed paper intercepted by C. Holden I perceive strong endeavours are used abroad—as I believe in all the world—to oppose us and assist our enemies. But I hope the Lord will defeat them all. I shall use my utmost diligence to serve his Providence in all things.”

ROBERT COYTMOR to ADMIRAL POPHAM, on board the *James*.

1651, April 2. Whitehall—Recommending William Herbert to him by command of Sir Henry Vane.

The SAME to the SAME.

1651, April 2. Whitehall—I conceived I should have found by the papers your secretary left behind him how the ships are appointed to their stations and copies of the orders you had given since Colonel Deane went to sea, but I can find nothing amongst that chaos of papers. I entreat you to give me the names of the ships that are of your squadron and also of Colonel Deane's squadron, and what ships you have ordered to guard the river's mouth. *Signed*.

*Postscript*.—The Committee desires you to appoint two small vessels to carry packets between Holland and England and also some fit vessel to ply about the mouth of Humber, for the pickeroons are so busy there that they go ashore and take people out of their beds and carry them and their goods away.



CAPTAIN LIONEL LANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, Admiral.

1651, April 3. The *Victory*—Announcing his arrival in the Downs. *Signed*.

COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM to CAPTAIN JOHN COPPIN, of the *Happy Entrance*.

1651, April 4. On board the *James*, off the Hope—Directing him to proceed to Guernsey to inform himself of the condition of the island and the strength of the enemy in Castle Cornet and to take steps for distressing the latter and for annoying the pirates at sea. *Signed*.

COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM to CAPTAIN JONAS REEVES, of the *Elizabeth*.

1651, April 4. Aboard the *James*—Whereas intelligence has been given that the enemy may design to land men upon Guernsey either from Jersey, St. Malo or elsewhere, you are, upon your arrival on the bank of Guernsey, to inform yourself from the Governor of the state thereof and of the strength of the enemy in Castle Cornet and at sea, and upon meeting with Captain Coppin of the *Happy Entrance* you are to advise with him how to hinder the enemy's designs, and report to the Council of State. *Copy*.

ROBERT COYTMOR to [COLONEL POPHAM].

1651, April 5—"You will receive a letter from the Committee for the exchange of prisoners with Carterett. In case you should stand strictly for the exchange only of prisoners of war, then many poor seamen will suffer and perish, of whom you have much need . . . having prisoners enough to exchange them all with." How you will contrive the release of these prisoners I do not know; whether you will issue forth orders to the several generals to discharge them and to take their several subscription of their being set at liberty and to order them to repair to some place near Portsmouth, where they may be shipped for Jersey, and whether they must have money to carry them to the place of rendezvous, I present to your consideration.

CAPTAIN RICHARD NEWBERY to [ROBERT COYTMOR?].

1651, April 10. Yarmouth Road, *Lily* frigate—Giving a detailed account of the movements of the ships upon the east coast.

COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM to [the ADMIRALTY COMMITTEE].

1651, April 11—I have received from you two letters, one concerning the exchange of prisoners at Jersey, to which purpose  
25. G

I have written to Sir George Carteret; the other, which concerns the exchange and usage of Colonels Sadler, Axtell and Lehunt, prisoners in Scilly; as to that I have written to the Governor of that island. I hope you will be pleased to make good my engagements in that kind. Mr. Coytmor writes to me by your command to set at liberty the "Oastenders" that are prisoners in Colchester, which I shall readily do when I find anything under your hands to warrant me, "but I think it may be for your service to forbear till I hear from Sir George Carteret, that so they being released with other prisoners of theirs may make up the number to get off all ours that are prisoners with them." *Copy.*

[ADMIRALTY COMMITTEE] to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, April 11. Whitehall—Directing him to carry out the order for the discharge or exchange of divers prisoners lying in Colchester gaol, who have been taken as pirates by the commander of the *Mary* of Colchester. *Signed by Denis Bond and Colonels George Thomson and Valentine Walton.*

COLONEL RICHARD DEANE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM.

1651, April 12. Edinburgh—"I am glad to hear what you write concerning Captain Penn and the *Lion*, and [sorry ?] for what you write of old Moulton and Colonel Willoughby's death. I think he were a very able man to supply his room."

The boats that came from London arrived here yesterday, four and twenty of them, there being one taken by a pirate as they came along and one "lost from his company." *Signed.*

[COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM] to [the CAPTAIN of the *Happy Entrance*].

[1651, April 13]—Ordering him, in pursuance of a command from the Council of State, to repair to the coast of Holland, report himself to the English ambassadors at the Hague and put himself under their orders; also to inform himself what ships and provisions are preparing there for Scotland, and to try to intercept any such vessels. *Draft.* [See Colonel Popham's narrative, p. 83 above.]

INTELLIGENCE FROM GUERNSEY.

1651, April 17—I understand from Jersey that there are not above two hundred or two hundred and fifty strangers there, men of note as well as private soldiers. One Captain Greenfield lately came from thence, discontented with the small respect he found with Sir George [Carteret]. He is now at Morlaix to make sale of some prizes sent by the Governor of Scilly. There is a Colonel Robinson at St. Malo and other officers; also divers Irishmen,

officers and seamen. Captain Amy is lately come there from Scilly and has offered 12,800 *livres tournois* to have a frigate built to carry forty or fifty guns, but the workmen and he could not agree. It is reported that he is about to buy one that belongs to the Prince. At Morlaix are divers officers and men of note. There are said to be two thousand soldiers at Scilly, four hundred whereof have formerly been officers.

#### VINCENT DE LA BARE to COLONEL POPHAM.

1651, April 23. Dover—On behalf of the fishermen of Dover, who are anxious to preserve a market for their commodities at Calais.

#### M. DE COURTEBOURNET to COLONEL POPHAM.

1651, April 25-May 5. Calais—Asking that the fishermen may have the same liberties which were granted to them at the request of his Governor, the Comte de Charost. *French.*

#### INTELLIGENCE from FRANCE.

1651 [April]—I landed at St. Vallery and went on to Dieppe, where I perceived nothing in agitation. Thence I went to Rouen and to Caen, where was Captain Skinner attending the Marquis of Ormond, being to command a frigate setting forth by the said Marquis for piracy. In Caen was also one Captain Brasdor, lately in Scotland and now come from Jersey. He has a commission from the Scots King to raise a regiment of foot for his service, and is procuring leave from the French King to raise men. He has a frigate lying at Havre de Grace ready to transport them. There is a report in Caen that the Prince of Condé and the Queen of Sweden privately correspond about assistance for the Scots King. From thence I went to Havre de Grace, where I saw the frigates and also the *Dolphin*, presented last year to the Queen of France by the Queen of Sweden; to St. Malo's, where was a small frigate of Sir George Carteret's, rigging for piracy; and to Blavete in Brest. Coming from Brest I met a Frenchman, who had been taken prisoner by an Ostend barque, set out by Sir Richard Grenville with stores for Scilly. He told me they had a little trunk aboard which Sir Richard strictly charged should be thrown overboard in case they should meet with a Parliament ship, which trunk, as he said, was full of commissions under the Scots King's broad seal, which were to be sent from Scilly into England. Sir Richard Grenville himself is at a little town called Lantreire in Brittany, but purposes soon to go for Scilly. The merchants of Dieppe, Rouen, Havre de Grace, Honfleur, Harfleur and St. Malo's have sent commissioners to the Court to desire that an ambassador may be sent to England and that the Knights of Malta may

forbear seizing on any English ships. [*Endorsed by Col. Popham as sent to him by the Council of State, 1st of May 1651.*]

WILLIAM ROBINSON to GENERAL POPHAM, on board the *Resolution*

1651, May 14. Whitehall—I have this day had the honour to wait on your nephew, Colonel Conway, and shall attend him to Colonel Deane.

“My Lord Lieutenant intends to be here very speedily, ’ti thought this week. Ormond, Inchiquin and the Protestant party of rebels in Ireland sent propositions to my Lord Lieutenant for their security, which my Lord refused, and sent their messengers,—Sir Robert Sterling, Dean Boyle and another,—back with positive proposals, which must be submitted to by the 15th instant, otherwise they should expect no further favour.”

[COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM] to [the GOVERNOR OF DUNKIRK]

[1651, May 17th. Aboard the *James*].—The great spoil done to the people of England by pirates who receive protection at Dunkirk has caused my coming hither. I come not with any hostile intention either against your person or the place you command unless provoked by any hostile actions of yours. ] formerly hinted to you that there was a person in Dunkirk who calls himself Luke Whittington, agent for his Majesty’s maritime affairs of his kingdom of Ireland at Dunkirk, “who gives commissions and passes (*which I supposed you would so far have taken notice of for the honour of the King, your master, your nation and yourself as not to have suffered a pretending King without a kingdom by his agents to have seized a power in the ports of the King of France. Some of his predecessors have pretended a title to the Crown of France, and with as much right as some others he lays claim to, but it is not I suppose under that notion you permit him to do it*). I do assure myself you cannot do the King, your master, your nation and yourself more right in anything than in sending him hither to me or else into England.” As to the French prisoners I know of none detained except for piracy, but will so far gratify any reasonable demand of yours that if you will engage to permit no more piracies in the future, I will, upon your signification of the names of such French prisoners, immediately release them. *Draft. The paragraph in italics is cancelled.* [*The date of this is fixed by Col Popham’s narrative, see p. 87 above.*]

VINCENT DE LA BARE to COLONEL EDWARD POPHAM, on board the *James*.

1651, May 23. Dover—I thank you for the news of the twenty-five thousand men in the army. Pray God bless all good designs. I had letters to-day from Steven Rogers from Calais.

"He writes me you should have a care of fireships, for there is such intentions reported at Calais. . . . The Governor of Calais, Monsieur Courteborne [Courtebournet], being out of town, was taken by the cavaliers of St. Toures, but on scarmoussing and a good horse he did escape."

THOMAS GAGE to COL. EDWARD POPHAM, aboard the *James* in the Downs.

1651, June 24. Upper Deal—"An ocean of distance or the distance of an ocean hath stopped this small and worthless gift of an unworthy author\* from coming to your hands, intended and with best heart wishes devoted to your honour—as Mr. Simon Blackmore can witness—when first your flag began to awe our neighbouring foes and to strike dread into the inhabitants of all the Lusitanian shore. I hope now it will find harbour and protection, not deserved but expected from your goodness, blasting what may be objected, *fronte capillata post est occasio calva*."

The style or dressing of it I confess is rude and beggarly, it having been penned when after four and twenty years' practice in the Spanish and Indian dialect your servant had forgot his mother-tongue; yet it hath been graced with one of our worthy senators' muse,† whose prophecy of heroic acts to be with victory performed by English champions among the tawny Indians, if hereafter it prove true, I hope the great God of heaven will keep your honour yet to plough the utmost western ocean with English strong-built ships and gilded stems, and in their hollow bottoms thither to convey such gallant spirits as shall thoroughly search that second Canaan, and by your wise command shall crush that Popish tyrannizing power there and set at liberty poor groaning slaves, carrying to them the true and glorious Gospel light, compared by our Lord and Saviour, Matt. xxiv. 27, unto a lightning coming out of the east and shining even unto the west. In the meanwhile here we wait upon God's providence, your honour be pleased in this poor work to observe the various ways of providence towards myself, a lost sheep in those remote parts, who yet obtained mercy and have been brought from that darkness to an admirable light. I present further to your honour's view a petty fancy penned by me lately when at London with Phineas' spirit I acted against Cozbi and Zimri-like Jesuits."

OLIVER CROMWELL to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1651, July 31—Warrant for the payment out of contingent moneys remaining in his hands of allowances to Adjutant-Generals Sedascue, Hopton, Merrist and Nelthorp. *Signed*.

The SAME to the SAME.

1651, August 6—Warrant for the payment of — pounds to Captain Morris, being at the rate of 20s. per man for troopers brought up to the army in Scotland. *Signed*.

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\* "The English-American, his travail by sea and land," pub. 1646.

† Thomas Chaloner.

KYMPTON HILLIARD to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CLARKE, in Scotland.

1651, October 30. Jersey—Concerning the reduction of Jersey. *Printed in the Clarke Papers, Vol. II., p. 228.*

PHINEAS PAYNE to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Leith.

1652, April 13. Westminster—Yours of the 3rd mentions that Mr. Browne owes [your brother] Jacob 8*l.* He has not yet received your rent at Redriffe, so I will disburse the 5*l.* next week when Jacob's master comes to town, and if I can get 40*s.* from Mr. Browne or his wife it will make 7*l.* to pay him for half a year. I pray you send two words to Mr. Browne to pay me what they can towards the boy's schooling.

PHINEAS PAYNE to WILLIAM CLARKE, Keeper of the Broad Seal in Scotland.

1652, May 29. Westminster—I have disbursed 5*l.* for Jacob according to your orders. I could get but 40*s.* from Mr. Browne, who tells me he has received no money at Redriffe. If he had I should have got that likewise from him towards payment for your boy's schooling. I hope to come to Scotland before long, and pray you meanwhile to take all the care you can of my brother Scriven.

CAPT. EDMUND CHILLENDEEN to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652, June 5. London—I will as speedily as may be pay the money due to you and also my share for housekeeping, but I am put to great straits "because of buying my troop's arrears and a fourth part of the Colonel's troop, which will come to at least 3,500*l.*" and shall have to mortgage what cost me 900*l.* for 500*l.* I would do it to you as soon as to any if you have so much money lying by you. It is as good security as any in England and I could have 1,200*l.* for it, but am loath to sell it. Pray give my kind love to your good wife and to Mrs. Mosse. *Seal of arms.*

WILLIAM CARY to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CLARKE, at Leith.

1652, June 29—I find that many of your trees have been cut down. On Thursday I will go to Paddington and make further enquiries, "for truly you are very much abused in the business." I have sent your things in the *Diligence* of Yarmouth, but could not find all you asked for. I was three times there before I could get into the house, and when I was in "things were somewhat disorderly. I wish that Major Husbands may deal well with you about your house and goods, and that my brother Mabbott would take the right way to make an end with Mr. Collins. I dare not meddle, but I only hint this to you."

## WILLIAM CLARKE.

[1652, June ?]—Inventory of goods in Mr. Clarke's house in St. Martin's Lane left to Major Husbands. The list includes various articles of furniture in parlour, hall, long gallery and four bed-rooms, with carpets and pictures and many kitchen utensils.

## SIMON BROWNE to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652, July 10. Westminster—As concerning your brother's schooling Mr. Payne paid 5*l.* and I 40*s.*, so Mr. Andrews had 7*l.* for half a year's schooling and boarding. Your brother and sister are in good health. "Your Jacob hath great commendations from his master, and I hope he will be a good scholar and that you will have great comfort of him. Your sister Betty is married and hath gotten a husband. They were greatly in league one with the other, and I thought there would be a great deal of ill-conveniency to part them, thought [*torn*] my consent to it, and hope it will be for her good. The young [man] doth appear to me to be a very deserving fellow and one well experienced in religion and very capable of any employment in military affairs. His calling is a broadweaver by his trade and he can make use of our sort of work very well. I would very gladly [have] had your approbation, but that it is so you was so far remote. I hope you shall have no cause of dislike of it."

## GILBERT MABBOTT to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652, July—"My brother Carey, M. Mosse, myself and wife were at Paddington this day to take possession of the house built upon thy three acres, which I heard the present tenant was willing to deliver,—Collins having dealt so devilishly with him." He was absent, but I am to meet him on Tuesday. "I am tender of meddling severely—according to law—with Collins, though thou hast given liberty therein, hearing and knowing of thy extraordinary bewitched indulgency to that worst and most cursed of families, one whereof I hear is coming down—upon some encouragement—to work the ends of the whole upon thee. I wish a dram of self-preserving and reasonable wisdom might be laid in the balance against a thousand-weight of thy most undeserved affection; and as thou art extreme innocent, so thou wouldst be a little prudent therein—as thou art sufficient in all other affairs." I do not want to meddle with thy private matters further than to serve thee, "only give me leave to be jealous and zealous for thy good."

## GENERAL MONK.

1652, August 1—Certifying that in November last he appointed William Clarke to receive the assessments of cos. Angus, Mearnes [*i.e.*; Kincardine] and part of Perth for drink money,

and to pay the same to Col. Cobbett's and Col. Cooper's regiments and the train [of artillery] then quartering at Dundee, in which service Mr. Clarke disbursed certain sums which, by reason of the settling of the Scotch assessment by Major-General Lambert in January, have not been repaid to him; and desiring that he may be reimbursed for the same. *Signed.*

*Enclosing,*

*Account by William Clarke of the sums received from various parishes and their disbursements, dated October 6, 1652:—Received, 1,059l. 11s. 0½d.; paid, 1,358l. 2s. 2½d.; disbursed more than received, 298l. 11s. 2d*

CAPT. EDMUND CHILLENDEEN to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652, August 28. London—I pray you tell Mr. John Bilton that Capt. Dale spoke him fair to his face, but turned him out of his troop as soon as he was out of sight. I keep you and Mr. Mabbott still in my troop. I desire you to certify me who is Governor of Aberdeen and to speak to Mr. Lewin to clear the 100l. with Mr. Bilton that I and Mr. Hatter stand engaged for. "This is all from him that desires no longer to live than he may serve his God, country and relations, amongst whom you are none of the least."

*Postscript.*—This P[arliament, *erased*] is resolved to sit to perpetuity, but I hope they will have a sooner period than is dreamt of. Be silent in this; you shall hear more."

WALTER CURTIS to GILBERT MABBOTT.

1652, October 6. Colchester—I understand from your last that Mr. Alden has not yet paid Mr. Clarke his money, which I take very ill at his hands, as he told me when I first came into Essex that the money was ready and would be paid in three or four days. I shall be in London within a fortnight to pay in our rents and will attend to it.

The SAME to [the SAME].

1652, October 29. Colchester—I am sorry that illness has prevented my coming to London, but I have sent for Aldwin [*sic*], and will shortly send you the money, "for I cannot tell how to be ungrateful to such an honest gentleman as Mr. Clarke hath been unto me all along."

MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD DEANE to Receiver General GEORGE BILTON.

1652, October—Warrant for payment of 1,174l. 14s. 4d. to William Clarke, of which 298l. 11s. 10d. is to re-imburse him for moneys advanced by him for drink money to Col. Cobbett's and Col. Cooper's regiments, the two Scarborough companies



and the train, when they quartered at Dundee, and the rest is to be held by him and paid out upon warrants from Major-General Deane.

COLONEL MATHEW ALURED to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Leith.

1652, December 10. Ayre—"I thank you for your constant good intelligence. We do a little wonder at the sudden disposal of Major-General Deane out of this country," and pray you to let us know who succeeds him and when he takes his journey into England. *Seal with crest.*

CAPTAIN EDMUND CHILLENDEEN to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Leith.

1652, December 21. London—I would gladly have acceded to your desire for your man, Scriven, to ride in my troop, but we are ordered to disband out of each troop a farrier and saddler and ten troopers. I shall be very hard put to it to keep you in and brother Mabbott, but I am resolved so to do. Pray send me word to what day I paid you.

GILBERT MABBOTT to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652, December 25—As you advise I shall not proceed against Collins. He offers to give you three other acres of his land if the whole may be measured. Brother Carey and I have to-day partly ended with your landlord, and have allowed him 14s. for your study shelves. Your goods will be removed to Mr. Basset's, who has promised us a chamber for them. We did not take the house, because the tenant has gone already, and you would have had to pay 15*l.* for a half-year's standing for your goods unless a tenant had been procured, which is very uncertain and improbable at this time of the year. Captain Child [Chillenden] promises me that you shall certainly not be prejudiced by the reducement of your troop. "For the great man's answer concerning me it is like himself; however, I thank thee for thy care therein."

GENERAL OLIVER CROMWELL to COLONEL LILBORNE, in Scotland.

1652[-3], January 22. Cockpit—"The Council of State, being made acquainted with the condition of those soldiers who have been lately disbanded in Scotland, and of the necessities and exigencies many of them will be put unto through want of money to bear their charges to their respective homes in England, have made an order—the copy whereof is enclosed—in pursuance of which I have sent to Mr. Hatter at York to take up a sum of money there to pay so many of those soldiers as come that way, who s' all be found to be in want, viz.:—To the foot soldiers a fortnight's pay and to the horsemen eight or ten days' pay as there shall be occasion, for defraying their charges to London or to their respective homes.

Upon conference with Major-General Deane we have thought fit that all the train horses in England except thirty-two, with a proportionable number of drivers, shall be sent into Scotland by Quarter Master Curtise and mustered there. And that when moneys are to be sent to the army in Scotland the carriages in England shall convey it to York, and there the carriages from Scotland shall receive it from them and carry it into Scotland. And in respect that one of the quarter masters of the draught horses is to be reduced we think fit that Mr. Capell, who was formerly clerk to the Commissary,—being now one of the quarter masters—shall be reduced and return to be clerk again under the present Commissary in the room of Mr. Woods, who is at present clerk to the Commissary, Mr. Woods having an ensign's place in Leith. I have no more at present, but rest your loving friend." *Signed, and the superscription also signed. Seal with the Cromwell arms. [The answer to this is printed in Mr. Firth's "Scotland and the Commonwealth," p. 80.]*

#### COMMITTEE OF PLUNDERED MINISTERS.

1652[-3], February 8. Chequer Chamber—Mr. Millington in the chair. Report of proceedings in the case of Mr. Erbery, accused of blasphemous speeches and false teaching. *Copy. [Printed in the Clarke Papers, Vol. II., p. 233.]*

#### ELIZABETH MOSSE to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1652[-3], March 5. London—"Dear heart, I received thine of the 27th of February. For thy sister Cary things are something better now between them than they were." The old woman, his aunt, is the cause of all the mischief. She hath used thy sister so basely from time to time that she is resolved never to speak to her more. Your brother Cary is now in the mind to take a house in the Strand, "and then she may learn his trade to buy and sell, and her condition would not be so bad whatever should happen, if she had some insight into his trade. He complains much for money, and is more troubled at the spending of a penny than he hath been at a pound, and he takes a great deal of pains. There is no happiness in this world without riches, that makes content and love and all things. If your brother Cary takes a house in the Strand he will take all your goods into his custody, and hopes to enjoy your company when you come into England, for which time I cannot tell thee how much I long for it. I long more to see thee than anything upon earth; thou hast not left thy fellow in England . . . so with my humble service I remain thy humble servant and mother."

*Postscript.*—"Thy cousin Stareshmore bought some linen of me, but I shall never desire more of his custom. He did more quarrel with me and exclaim on me than the profit was worth." *Endorsed by Clarke:* "Mother Mosse, concerning sister Cary, &c."

THOMAS SHERMAN to his cousin, WILLIAM CLARKE, at Dalkeith.

1653, November 5th. Stornoway—I have paid Capt. Wood 200*l.* on account of the French wines, and Major Crispe 100*l.* for the Spanish, and will speedily send you the rest. I have sold all the French wine except five hogsheads, and they would have gone too, but Capt. Wood brought with him from Orkney ten tuns of French wine, base trash, which he sold for 20*l.* to 22*l.* the tun, and so spoiled my market.

As to my neglect of duty in my employment, truly Col. Cobbett has misinformed you. "If I had two pairs of legs and as many hands, I could have employed them. If any friend of his had but half the trouble as I had, then he would tell you another tale. I did my duty at all times; blow, snow, or rain it was all one to me." I have sent you and Col. Cobbett each a copy of my accounts. I fear his is not very plain, but we all want pen, ink and paper. We believe that the *Greyhound* will not come hither until Capt. Tomson comes with the Governor's packet. Pray present my service to Major-General Lilburne. I am much troubled to hear that his brother is so tormented. Liberty is precious. Pray present my respects to your wife, cousin Staesmore and cousin Sharwen.

The SAME to the SAME.

1653, November 10. Stornoway—I have received no satisfaction for my services since I came from you. Please send my wife 50*l.*, which I will pay you again. I have the money, but have laid part out in making a brewhouse. I have sent to Capt. Brayse [Brassey] for malt and hops, and some hoops and other goods. I hope to send you by the next shipping a taste of our good liquor. I pray you forget not my poor wife. I could wish this place would suit with her weakness. Send the money for her to Mr. Henry Bainbridge at Christopher's Church, near the stocks in London, or else to herself by your brother Carey. In one of your letters you desired to know if I had lost anything at Mull. Truly I did, beer, tobacco, pipes, strong water and sugar. The biscuit which Commissary Eldred sent last is not as it should be. We have not six months' provision of bread for this garrison.

CAPTAIN EDWARD LUNNE to COLONEL ROBERT LILBURN.

1653, November 13. Scalloway Castle in the mainland of Zetland [Shetland]—Three companies of Colonel Cooper's regiment being already relieved from Orkney, "I am full of hopes not to stay long in this country, which affordeth nothing wherewith an Englishman will fall in love; for that cause therefore, and because companies separated from their regiments march oft too much in the rear of relief, I am bold to represent to your Honour my hopes and condition, notwithstanding Lieutenant-Colonel Sawrey hath before this, I am confident, remem-

bered those and that to your Honour effectually. I shall only add this, that there is in this country much land held of the King of Denmark, whose the chief rents are, to the value of about an hundred pound by year. The arrear of most of it being yet in the tenants' hands for three years past or thereabouts, I thought it my duty to inform your Honour thus far. But if our Commonwealth became landlord, I hope my successor here will take off the collector's office from me. I have not meddled with it at all, because I understand not your Honour's mind in it."

CAPTAIN JAMES THOMPSON to COLONEL ROBERT LILBURNE.

1653, November 30. Dunbarton Castle—"I beg your pardon in being so long silent in giving your Honour an account of some proceedings in this country. The last night I had notice that the Laird of Cowgrane [Cochrane] had received commission for the raising of this shire, and that he demands every third man, or else to force the gentlemen to go along with him. Hearing likewise that he was then at his own house, I thought it my duty to endeavour the apprehending of him, and accordingly in the night sent to my ensign, which was at Greenock, a small party, and gave him orders that he should ferry over Clyde with the party that he had with him and those that I had sent, to make an attempt upon Cowgrane's house, the which he accordingly did, and came to it betwixt one and two this morning. He had crows of iron and great hammers with him for the forcing of doors, but the iron grate was so strong that, after the doors were broken in pieces, he could not enter till he set fire to the gates with peats, and then they opened to him, but he was deprived of his expectation, for there was no Cowgrane there, nor not so much as a man within the house. After they had possession a party appeared and fired at the house, which caused him to continue there all night, and in the morning came back. Truly this country are dangerous people, and I am confident that there is not one man hardly free from acting for them either by monies or intelligence. This Cowgrane is Fullerd's son-in-law, and Fullerd's brother is likewise with the enemy. I am just now informed by a letter from the Laird of Lusse that McFarlin's islands in the head of Loch Lomond are possessed, and a fortifying by the enemy."

THOMAS SHERMAN to his cousin, WILLIAM CLARKE, at Dalkeith.

1653, December 22. Loch Stornoway—My respects to you and your wife, cousin Staresmore and Shardwen. We are all in good health, save some half score of our men. We have very bad quarters here, and have buried two men since we came. I sent to Capt. Brasey in my last for malt, hops and hoops. Pray send me some. We shall not have bread to serve this garrison till May. We have had no ships come to us since Mr. Tomson left. If there be any action abroad in the spring, I

could wish myself in it. Good sugar is a good commodity here, and London strong water, and also Lynn beer.

THOMAS SHERMAN to his cousin, WILLIAM CLARKE.

1653[-4], March 3. Stornoway—Many thanks for remembering my wife. Pray pay 10*l*. to Mr. Phillips for tobacco and pipes at Leith, if you cannot get some things abated. His tobacco lies on my hands and rots, it is so bad. I desire you to acquaint the Commander-in-Chief that this garrison has barely five weeks' provisions, and the country cannot help us at all. Ask Commissary Eldred to hasten ships away. In the morning of the 2nd of January, between three and four o'clock, Seaforth and his party fell on our out-quarters, and barbarously murdered seven or eight of our men, and as many have since died of their wounds. They stayed until the 23rd of January, and gave us alarms oft, but in the day they would not be seen, but on the mountains. He is expected here again if we have no ships to come speedily.

MARQUIS OF ARGYLE to COLONEL LILBURNE.

1654, March 25. Stirling—I hear from the hills that Middleton's commission is very absolute in all matters, civil and ecclesiastical, and that there is a declaration in print, which I hope shortly to see. I have engaged my nephew, Lord Charles Gordon, to a peaceable behaviour, giving him some interest in the estates, but delaying the perfecting of it, lest he be troublesome. I have appointed Sir Robert Innes, jun., and Sir John Gordon as governors of the estates. I offer to your consideration whether Straboggy [Huntley] might not fitly be made a garrison, it being the nearer way to Aberdeen from the Boyne. *Signed.* [*Printed at length in "Scotland and the Protectorate," p. 60.*]

KYMPTON HILLIARD to his brother[-in-law, WILLIAM] CLARKE.

1654, May 14. Douglas Castle—"In my last I gave a relation of my engaging with the enemy at Gauston in the country of Kyle the 9th instant, "after which I returned to Ayre, and the 11th I marched to this place; but on the way, hearing of some loose parties of the enemy that yet remained thereabout, the 12th, with thirty of my troop, I marched hither, where I certainly heard that the enemy was retired again into Galloway. They did remain about the country on the moors all the night and part of the next day, when they, through the intelligence those parts gave them, came and took such horses and arms which the country had taken out of the field and secured, while I was in pursuit of the enemy; six horses the country had taken of mine, but the same night I recovered two out of their hands. The other four I understand are delivered by them to the enemy, especially one black gelding worth 12*l*. that a countryman rode after the enemy with and delivered. I have

desired the General's order to be prepared on the country for those horses, as also for a supply of firelocks and twenty cases of pistols if he shall so please. Have lost and broken six or seven firelocks and lost eight cases of pistols. I also entreat you to obtain me an order to the Governor of Ayre to deliver me a barrel of powder and a keg of shot, which I have received upon my promise to get an order for it. There are three prisoners, whereof one is Cardinese's lieutenant, who may possibly recover of his wounds, and who hath given his parole to Colonel Cooper. The other two I suppose are mortally wounded. The report is various of the number slain, some say nine, others five, and others but three, one whereof was Captain Fergison's lieutenant, named Tompson, who was lately come to Cardinese with a message to march northward, whither he was marching when I fought him. The number wounded that escaped was, some say, twelve, but for certain seven wounded were altogether at one house. I had only three men wounded, who are all here, blessed be God, and past danger. I hope you will not esteem us raw soldiers, though we are but a new raised troop, that we durst, being but twenty-two, march four miles out of our way to seek out an enemy to encounter with, whom our intelligence gave us to be three score, and who by all relations were when we fought them sixty-seven, completely armed, and far better mounted than ourselves, who were almost tired, both horses and men having marched fourteen miles that day before the engagement. I pray you let this be an opportunity to move for my establishment. The men deserve well, who after they were commanded to discharge their firelocks at a reasonable distance did it well, and afterward discharging their pistols when we were very close, threw them at the enemy, and then fell in with sword, which continued near half an hour after we had broken them. I may truly say blessed be the Lord, for his mercies endure for ever. I was in my dream this last night troubled with an apprehension that thou wert discontinued Secretary, but I know dreams are but fables, yet I cannot forbear telling thee of it."

GENERAL MONK.

1655, March 28. Dalkeith—Pass for Lieutenant-Colonel George Heriott to go into Fife and to Dundee. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

CAPTAIN JOHN HILL to WILLIAM CLARKE.

1655, September 25. Ruthven Castle—There is a mistake in the store-keeper's account here. I send you the papers. I have written to the General concerning our need of a surgeon. We cannot always get one from Inverness, where they have but two. "I think the hills are for present the most quiet part of

Scotland. A single Englishman may pass from hence to Inverloughie, for so did a lieutenant the last week from thence to this place, only accompanied with my post. I hope they will continue peaceable, if the Highlanders be not too hard put at for old thefts and misdemeanours, for that will cause them to break out again, they not being able to make satisfaction for the tenth part of the wrong they have done.

GENERAL MONK to CAPTAIN JOHN DRYWOOD and CORNET THOMAS MEDLICOTT.

1655[-6], January 21. Edinburgh—Order for reserving such sums of money in the Treasury as have been stopped for provisions. *Signed*.

GENERALS BLAKE and MONTAGUE to the PROTECTOR.

1656, September 19. Aboard the *Naseby*, Bay of Wiers—Being out of water and our victuals almost spent, we have come here to recruit our wants and await further orders. We have received the enclosed account from the Commander of the squadron before Cadiz, and have sent to secure the prizes. "The providences that have already come to our knowledge, concurring to bring those ships into our hands, do very much convince us it is of God, in more than an ordinary manner, and we trust it will by the same good hand be sanctified unto us." *Copy*.

MARQUIS OF ORMOND to DR. OLIVER DARCY, Bishop of Dromore.

[1656, September 26]—*Copy*. Printed in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, Vol. II., appendix, p. 18, and in Clarendon's *State Papers*, Vol. III., p. 306.

HENRY LAWRENCE, Lord President of the Council, to GENERAL MONK.

1656, December 23. Whitehall—Concerning the restoration to the Duchess of Hamilton of the estate of Kinneal. *Signed*. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. of this date.*]

MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

1656[-7] February 19. London—Bond of Archibald, Marquis of Argyle—as principal—together with William, Lord Cochrane, Rory McLeod of Dunvegan, Sir John Wemys of Boggy, Col. David Barclay, William Cary, goldsmith, of London, and Archibald Campbell of Drumsynn timer [Drimsynn timer] for payment of 800*l*. and other moneys to Colonel Ralph Cobbett. *Signed and sealed, but the signatures, excepting those of Rory MacLeod and Archibald Campbell, have been torn out.*

LIEUT.-COLONEL ROGER SAWREY to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Dalkeith.

1657, April 6. Citadel at Ayre—"I with my company got very well to Ayre upon Saturday, where we found all things in good order and friends in health, only a young person with Captain-Lieutenant Shockly, entertained the last muster, who is since discovered to be a woman; her name she saith is Ann Dimack, daughter to one John Dimack of Keale, near Bullingbrooke Castle in Lincolnshire. She hath been with us but one muster, and saith that her father and mother being dead she lived with her aunt, and fell in love with one John Evison, who had served his time in London, but was a Lincolnshire man. Her friends was against it, and would by no means yield to their marriage, nor had she any way of accomplishing her end left, but by putting herself into man's habit, which she did in May, 1655, and so went to London together, and finding him not to be in a capacity to live they both resolved to betake themselves to services, this maid still keeping in man's apparel, and went as two brothers. The young man lived at Islington and the maid at London with a coachman in Chick Lane, whose name was Taylor, where she served two years under the name of Stephen Evison, and after that coming with John by sea the said John was cast away, and she, keeping still her man's habit, came to Carlisle, and there listed herself for a soldier under Major Tolhurst by the name of John Evison, and there she continued until she came to this garrison, and never was known to any, which she declares very solemnly to be all the way of her progress in her disguise. And I can perceive nothing but modesty in her carriage since she hath been with us, and shall send to the other places where she hath been formerly to know the truth of her declaration. If you think it necessary you may acquaint my Lord General with it, with my respects to yourself and lady, returning you hearty thanks for your late kindness."

The MAGISTRATES OF AMSTERDAM to the HIGH ADMIRAL of Scotland.

1657, September 13. Amsterdam—Concerning a ship called the *White Cow*, which had been wrecked on its way to Greenland. *Latin. Seal of arms.*

GEORGE SCOTT to GENERAL MONK.

1657[-8], March 4. Edinburgh—A year ago petitioner, being called in question for alleged accession to the challenge given by Walter Scott to Lord Blantyre, gave bond for his good behaviour. Sir James Johnstoun of Westerrall, the grantor of the bond, having petitioner's whole fortune in his hands, withholds the said bond, and has reduced petitioner and his ten children to a very deplorable condition. Prays order to Johnstoun to deliver up the deed. *With reference by Monk to Lieut.-Colonel Pownall. Signed.*



JAMES, LORD FORRESTER, to the LORD PROTECTOR.

1657[-8], March 13—Petitions that having been in arms for the late King of Scots, he was, upon capitulation in 1653, allowed by Lord General Monk to return to his own home, but about eighteen months since was committed to the custody of the Marshal General of Scotland, and still continues a prisoner, to the endangering of his health and the damage of his estate. Prays an order to General Monk for his release. *Presented on above date and referred to Monk.*

GENERAL MONK.

1658, August 2. Dalkeith—Pass for William Field to Dunkirk. *Signed.*

THE SAME.

1658, August 28. Edinburgh—Pass for William Arnott and Thomas Fotheringham, burgesses of Edinburgh, with their servants, horses, swords and necessaries, to go to London and return. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THE SAME.

1658, September 1. Edinburgh—Permission for David Dickson, bailiff in Forfar, to keep a fowling piece. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

LAIRD OF CALDER.

1658, September—Reasons why the “fewdewtie,” due from the Isle of Illa [Islay] by the Laird of Caddell [Calder], is at the disposal of his Highness the Protector, notwithstanding the grant to the Duke of Lennox.

D. DRUMMOND to GENERAL MONK.

1658, November 8. Crieff—I wrote in my last concerning these pranks of the protesters in preparing their papers to be given in to the Council. They have been very serious with all their adherents to stand to the uttermost in prosecuting that business, which after a long and serious trial I have found it true that their only and main cause in giving this testimony against the English is because my Lord Protector comes to the Government by virtue of the Petition and Advice, in which there is no mention of the League and Covenant, and thereby they conclude that the English have first, unjustly invaded; second, unjustly tolerated diversities of religions; third, unjustly usurped the government of these nations; and all this they do under the colour of their testimony, as they call it. “These things being so material and the eyes of the whole country upon the result, and the Protector so much concerned now in this first beginning of his government, makes me the more

bold to use my freedom, for no disrespect to the persons of the protestors but to their actions, who formerly used the same course [*torn*] the last authority in contempt as that the same was against religion, and [now] more, and in more brusque terms, and more bold." I entreat your Lordship not to look upon me as impertinent, but such businesses must be taken at the beginning, which is the only time to cure these growing diseases.

CAPTAIN THOMAS READE to GENERAL MONK, at Dalkeith.

1658, November 8. Stirling—An account of the damage sustained by the house of the Laird of Buchanon when it was garrisoned. Amount, 63*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*

The COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND to JOHN BAYNES, Receiver General.

1658, December 28. Holyrood House—Order for the payment of fire and candle money to the soldiers garrisoned in Scotland. *Copy.*

GENERAL MONK.

1658[-9], January 15. Edinburgh—Permission for the servant of the Laird of Clarkington to keep a fowling piece. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

LORD KENMORE to GENERAL GEORGE MONK.

1659, March 14. Brugh, Galloway—Complaining of the affronts he has received from the Laird of Ricarton's servants, who have run up and down among his poor people like mad men, led on by one Hodgen, an Englishman, living in Dumfries; and praying that a settlement may be ordered between himself and Ricarton.

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM GOUGH to GENERAL MONK, at Dalkeith.

1658[-9], March 22. Lambeth Marsh—"I am sorry I have no better a subject than what I am now to give your Lordship some little account of, which is of a late unhappy difference betwixt my Lord Whally, Colonel Ashfield, and myself, occasioned upon an accidental discourse in Westminster Hall, more particularly between my Lord Whally and Colonel Ashfield about the government and such like things, and in the conclusion of the discourse my Lord Whally did passionately express him, saying, you have your meetings by yourselves and we will have our meetings by ourselves, and further said that we kept out honest men, and gave a particular instance of one officer. Upon which Colonel Ashfield [said] that it was a mistake, saying none was ever kept out in any meetings that he

was at, and I said the like, being assured that as to our particulars there was not any such thing done, and our ground for this our confidence in this thing was because it was at my Lord Fleetwood's house, where we had nothing to do to keep any out. But yet notwith[standing] my Lord Whally earnestly asserted it to be so, and Colonel Ashfield did also earnestly assert the contrary, and this was done several times by my Lord Whally and Colonel Ashfield, as also by myself twice or thrice. Upon which my Lord Whally did take it as giving him the lie, and said we were uncivil and that we deserved to have our pates cut, and that if he had us in place [*sic*] where he would cut our pates, and this is a true state of that which was the offence in brief. Having lately received an intimation from my Major that your Lordship had an account of it I thought it my duty to give this small account."

[The EARL OF SEAFORTH to GENERAL MONK?]

1658[-9], March—The late Earl of Seaforth, being burdened by debt, went beyond seas in December, 1648, when the Committee of the Estates of Scotland laid a fine upon him of 100,000 marks Scots, although after his "way-going" he never meddled with affairs, and remained abroad until his death. The fine now lies in the hands of some friends of the Marquis of Argyle, who are endeavouring to get it ratified. I have never had the value of the fourth part of the fine on my father's estate, and trust that the Acts of Grace and other Acts of Indemnity may protect me by your Lordship's favour. [*Copy?*]

COLONEL RICHARD ASHFIELD to GENERAL MONK, at Dalkeith.

1659, April 16—I hope when I see you again to be able to prove that I have neither—as has been represented—put a blemish upon the discipline of the army, nor intermeddled too much in public affairs. "As to that unhappy discourse which Lieut.-General Whaley entertained Lieut.-Colonel Gough and myself with in Westminster Hall, I can say this, there was nothing intended or done on my part but what might have borne a favourable construction, notwithstanding I was more than ordinary provoked," and as to public affairs I have only followed the honourable officers of the army in what the whole Council thereof hath now brought forth. I am sorry my occasions should detain me from my charge at such a time as this, but I hope every term will dispatch me. *Seal of arms.*

LORD FLEETWOOD to GENERAL MONK.

1659, April 23—"I do presume that some late actions of the army may be misrepresented unto you, for prevention whereof I shall give you a short account of affairs here. We having received very certain assurances of our old enemies' designs and

others to disturb our present peace, we were necessitated to draw the forces together in order to the security and peace of this city and nation. Notwithstanding our intentions were for the good of the whole, yet I believe some will very evilly represent us in this action, as if we had forced the Parliament, though his Highness by his own authority did dissolve them, in which the army did stand by his Highness. The present state of affairs are through mercy in much quietness and the army in much union, and I hope your Lordship will not give credit to other information, but preserve the union betwixt both armies as may enable them with joint endeavours to serve his Highness in the further preservation of this good old cause we have been so long engaged in, and not suffer the attempts of any to divide us to take effect, the welfare of these nations being so much concerned therein. I shall rest very confident your Lordship will preserve a right understanding betwixt us, whereby we may be the better enabled through the goodness of the Lord to answer the great ends of our trust. Your Lordship shall suddenly hear at large from me concerning these affairs, and [I] shall take it as a great kindness from you rather to give credit to myself than any other, wherein you may be assured I shall not deceive your expectation but give you the true state of things."

PA[TRICK] BLAIR to GENERAL MONK.

1659, April 29. Kirkwall—Complaining of his persecution by Captain Watson, Governor of Orkney.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS JOHN MASON and ROGER SAWREY to GENERAL MONK.

1659, May 3. London—We assure your Lordship that "the army here in England is very unanimous in this late action, which is demonstrated by the several addresses which have come both from regiments and garrisons." *Signed.*

HELEN HAY, LADY WARISTON, to GENERAL MONK, in Scotland.

1659, May 4. Edinburgh—"I received a letter from your Lordship this day in favour of Mr. Gideon Penman, minister at Creichtown, and am glad to have the opportunity to give your Lordship information touching that man's carriage as a minister, who hath been justly suspended from his ministry by the Synod of Lothian, and is processed for other gross faults, such as forgery of a subscription to a band and endeavouring to get a decree concerning his stipend vitiated, which have been prosecuted before the Court of Justice in part, and for the further prosecution thereof are referred to the Criminal Court and before the Synod. He is further processed for worldly mindedness in making of bargains and playing the notary rather than the minister amongst the country people, besides that he hath been

greatly questioned for his insufficiency to preach the Gospel, and after thrice hearing of him before the Synod and their committee they could not give him this testimony that they found him sufficient, but for what they had heard they could not declare him insufficient, and this was only the mind of the plurality, and many did declare that they judged him insufficient. And it would appear that your Lordship hath been informed that he is only prosecuted for meddling with the stipend during his suspension, contrary to a law whereof he was ignorant. But your Lordship may be assured that if his abilities were duly tried by divines and lawyers it shall be found that he hath much more law than Gospel, whereof he hath given evidence by the manifold devices of law used by him during his trial to obstruct all proceedings against him. And as to his poverty it is well known that he hath an estate whereon he may live without any help of a stipend, which by the law of God and men is designed and set apart for such as are able to instruct the people and are diligent to care for their souls. And as for these children which are called motherless, if your Lordship knew their ages and what means he hath provided for them you would not judge them objects of compassion. I crave your Lordship's pardon for this trouble." *Seal of arms.*

JOHN THURLOE to GENERAL MONK, in Edinburgh.

1659, May 31. Whitehall—I know your Lordship remembers well the business of Bilton and his correspondents, Short and Drywood. Short has brought an action of 10,000*l.* against me for false imprisonment, as one of the Council of State, pretending that his prosecution was by my means only, and that as soon as he came into Scotland you discharged him, and wondered that he should have been sent there when he appeared to be innocent. "Truly, my Lord, he was a mere stranger to me, and so was the business until I had it from your Lordship and the Council of Scotland, and I well remember that as it was represented from thence it seemed not only a foul business upon Bilton but upon Short too, through whose hands the moneys went." The papers are all in Scotland, and I have asked Lord Fleetwood to send them to you. I pray you to tell him the full state of the business and how the State was wronged. [*George Bilton and John Drywood were deputy treasurers of war for Scotland and were accused of mis-appropriating moneys. There are many allusions to the matter in the Cal. S.P. Dom. for 1657-1658.*]

GENERAL MONK to CAPTAIN JOSEPH WALLINGTON.

1659, June 25—Order to search for and seize the arms of certain persons named, in the parishes of Evendale, Glasford, and Lesmahego, in Lanarkshire. *Copy.*

LORD WARISTON [President of the Council] to GENERAL MONK  
in Scotland.

1659, July 14—"There is such throng of business that with very great difficulty I got your letters read and answered by the Council, the intelligences cometh so thick of the designs of the malignants to rise in many places at once upon expectation or assurance of Charles Stewart, and what he can do to be with them. The Council are very diligent to use all means of prevention. We are sending General-Major Desborow to the West. The Forest of Dean, Coventry and Chichester are places designed by the adversary. The Council will take the roll of all those who have given bond to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and demand personal assurance of them. They desire that you do the like in Scotland and Lieut.-General Ludlow in Ireland. Mr. Reynolds did give me the enclosed ticket to be sent to you. All excepted persons are to go out of London to-morrow, or be under hazard of execution. The business anent sending Commissioners to Scotland will be taken into consideration with the Act of Union and Grace."

*Postscript.*—Your Lordship will do well to look to Macnaughton, and some other Highlanders, who are speaking strange language, as some write." *Seal of arms.* [*The order for this letter is given in the Cal. S.P. Dom. for 1659-1660, p. 27.*]

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN PEARSON to GENERAL MONK.

1659, July 15. Dunkirk—"I suppose your Lordship hath heard that the Council of State hath employed Colonel Ashfield, Colonel Packer and myself to inquire into the late mutiny, and given us instructions to regulate the affairs of this place. Since our coming hither we have endeavoured to compose the minds of our forces, which through God's mercy hath not been without good effect, and though we are not without fears that some design for Charles Stuart was at the bottom of the meeting, yet we are not able to find it out, but it rather seems to be upon the account of prejudice that the soldiers had against their officers, for not taking that care of them as might have been expected, and as they found from their officers in England and Scotland where most of them have served; but, God be thanked, all is very well and quiet, and I hope will so continue. Some grand iniquities are found amongst officers here, insomuch that their own soldiers loath them; some captains of the watch tumbles about the streets when they go the rounds. Drunkenness, dreadful swearing, uncleanness, money coining, and what not, hath too much abounded. Some of them we are necessitated to deal with, yet with a very tender hand. There are a great many very good and substantial officers which are encouraged. The six troops of horse are very right men for most part. The three regiments that are in the French pay are lodged under the walls of this town. The cessation of arms is continued in these parts,

wherein this town is included. The Spaniard keeps six or eight thousand men in a body near Nieuport. The Duke of York is in the head of them and General Marcin is his Lieutenant General. The French commanders in these parts inform us that those forces are designed for Charles Stuart. Comte Chamberg, a Lieutenant-General of the French army, Governor of Bergen, and commander of all the French garrisons in these parts, came hither about three days since to visit us and professeth exceeding affection to our nation, being a Protestant, and his mother an English woman, and saith that if the Spaniard make any attempt here, though under pretence of Charles Stuart, he will assist us and give us constant intelligence of the enemy's motion. Also Monsieur Talloon, the French Intendant, wrote to us to let us know that if we had occasion, he was commanded to assist us with all the French troops in these parts, and that he would advise us from time to time of the enemy's designs. So that your Lordship may see the French keep fair correspondence with us. But, however, this place is in so good a condition for strength and men with what likewise England can supply that we need not fear any of them, and it is rather to be judged that Charles Stuart's design was for England or Scotland if his could be transported, than to waste them against Dunkirk. The Fort of Mardyke is but an inconsiderable place, and I suppose the Parliament will order the slighting of it. The time your Lordship gave is expired, and had not I been employed in this business I had waited on your Lordship by this time."

*Postscript.*—"I hope this town will yield the state a revenue of 16,000*l.* per annum or more."

#### GEORGE BILTON to GENERAL MONK.

1659, July 18—Petitioning that he has now been sixteen months under close restraint in the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, and praying to be allowed the liberty of the Castle, until such time as things are cleared.

#### GIDEON WAUGH, deputy sheriff of Roxburghshire, to GENERAL MONK.

1659, July 19. Jedburgh—Relating his proceedings in regard to a difference between Robert Ker of Craillinghall and John Rutherford of Edgerstoun on the one part, and John and Thomas Rutherford of Hunthill on the other part, concerning certain seats in the church of Jedburgh.

#### VICE-ADMIRAL JOHN LAWSON to GENERAL MONK, in Scotland.

1659, July 22. Aboard the *James* before Ostend—I was ordered here by the Council on a report that the Spaniards intended to ship men for England, and to draw forces before Dunkirk. I hear that there are five or six thousand men near

Newport, but there are so few ships at Ostend and Newport that there is no likelihood of their shipping men, and as little of their sending forces to Dunkirk, as those near Newport are pitiful shattered broken regiments. I am informed that the Prince of Condé is near Maestricht with some forces. Charles Stuart and the titular Duke of York are at Brussels.

[GENERAL MONK] to the GOVERNORS OF GARRISONS and CHIEF OFFICERS of the regiments in Scotland.

1659, July 25. Dalkeith—Instructing them to prevent all horse-races and other suspicious meetings; to seize the arms of persons that have adhered to the enemy, or horses above the value they have orders for; to take account of strangers; to get intelligence of intended meetings by disaffected persons for promoting the interest of Charles Stuart or his party, or for raising insurrections in the Commonwealth; and to hold correspondence with adjacent garrisons and advise with the well-affected justices of the peace. *Copy.*

COUNCIL OF STATE to Receiver General JOHN BAYNES.

1659, August 8. Whitehall—Warrant to satisfy General Monk's warrants up to 20,000*l.* *Copy.* [*See Cal. S.P. Dom. under date.*]

GENERAL MONK to JOHN BAYNES.

1659, August 15—Warrant for payment of 20,000*l.* to Charles Zinzan, deputy-treasurer at War. *Signed.*

MAJOR JOHN HILL to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September 5. Inverloughy—I have received information "that William Ferguson of Inveray and Forbes of Skellater—hearing of some stirs in England, and aiming to be the first that should honour themselves with rising for Charles Stuart—are broken loose, but I know none that will join with them except some few thieves, and I conceive it were no great difficulty to get them taken if some active Highlanders, such as John Mac Intosh of Forther, were put upon it." All these parts are quiet.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September 7. Ancram—Concerning the difference between the Lairds of Hunthill, sen. and jun., and the Lairds of Cralinghall and Edgerston, respecting the right to the seats in the loft of Jedburgh Church. [*See Gideon Waugh's letter of July 19, above.*]



## CAPTAIN JOSEPH WITTER to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September 12. Dunstaffnage—"Upon the 3rd instant I received a letter from Mc Cleane of Lockbowye and Mc Cleane of Ardgowre, of which the enclosed is a true copy, as also I had other notice that Daniel Mc Cleane of Brollosse was endeavouring to get up a party to disturb the peace of the Commonwealth. Whereupon I sent four files of soldiers with an officer upon the 3rd instant in the night, ordering them to march to Arrosse in Mull, to apprehend the said Daniel Mc Cleane and his party, where the said Daniel was with above twenty armed men, who kept watch and discovered my party, whereupon the said Daniel and his party fled, and though they were pursued both with my party and above a hundred of the countrymen, yet the said Daniel hath escaped, and is fled out of Mull to the Isle of Skye, as it is said. Those men that were with him left him when he was pursued, and not above four men were with him when he went out of Mull, which was upon the 6th instant. I shall be careful to give your Lordship a good account of these parts, which at present are all very peaceable, and I hope to bring Daniel Mc Cleane in ere long."

*Postscript.*—"I have employed a gentleman, who is nearly related unto Daniel Mc Cleane, for to bring the said Daniel in. I have lately received a letter from Mc Naughton, who excuses his not coming in at present, but assured me in his letters that there shall not any man in the nations live more peaceable than he would do. I expect him here ere long."  
*Seal with arms and crest.*

*Enclosing,*

*Mc Cleane of Lockbowre and John Mc Cleane of Ardgowre to Captain Joseph Witter.*

1659, September 2. Arros—"This afternoon the quondam tutor, Daniel [Mc Cleane], came here to Arrosse, we know not for what intent, accompanied with above twenty armed men, and so remains as yet. We conceive you have a fit time to execute my Lord General's instructions for the preserving the peace, and we do assure you, if Daniel be kept from seducing some foolish ones in the country of his own stamp and temper, Mc Cleane's country shall be as faithful to tender the peace of the Commonwealth as any people in the three nations. Therefore we lay it to your door, and if you send privately the matter of twenty or four and twenty firelocks, who shall be assisted by us and our men here with all diligence, he may be apprehended, and it will conduce much for the preserving of the peace. If you take not this occasion, blame not us if you repent it hereafter." *Copy.*

## MAJOR JOHN HILL to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September 12. Inverloughy—"Daniel Mc Cleane of Brollas, who was sometime tutor of Mc Cleane, did lately endeavour the disturbance of the peace in Mull, and had gotten

together about twenty men in arms, and kept watch. But four files of soldiers being sent out by Captain Witter were no sooner discovered but the tutor fled, his men deserted him all except four who fled out of the island with him, and it is thought he is gone towards Skye."

All is quiet in these parts. There are some rumours about, but ere this month is out I shall take a course that I hope will silence all.

*Postscript.*—"I have sent some of Lord Lambert's letters in print and copies of them to most of the Highland lairds, that they may see what is become of the enemy's design in England."

Your letter to Lochiel shall be delivered to-day.

[GENERAL MONK] to SIR HENRY VANE.

1659, September 13—Recommending him to continue Mr. Matthew Lock, who had been Clerk to the Council in Scotland since its establishment in 1654. *Copy.*

CAPTAIN ROBERT SCRAPE to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September 22. Dundee—Sending a copy of the informations against the ringleaders in a recent mutiny among the soldiers quartered there. *Copy enclosed.*

CAPTAIN EDWARD FRERE to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Dalkeith.

1659, September 23. Dundee—Concerning the mutiny above mentioned.

COLONEL MICHELL to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Edinburgh.

1659, September 24. Wingeworth—"My Lord General's letter, dated 8th instant, I received the same time when I had the honour of my Lord Lambert's company at my house, whom I attended in his Lordship's examination of this country's late insurrection, upon which occasion I was hindered then from that due acknowledgment of my Lord Monck's kindness and care in reference to my salary accruing upon the musters in my late regiment under his Lordship's command. I must confess I cannot be importunate, nor thought it convenient to request my Lord Lambert's commendation of the same, knowing that I shall receive from my Lord the like justice and respect that is given to any other when the Treasury is better supplied. Though, Sir, upon the score of kindness and the ancient friendly acquaintance between us, give me leave to entreat your endeavours as occasion offers to negotiate on my behalf with these arguments; that all regiments as they march out of Scotland are cleared off, particularly one foot regiment, Colonel Ashfeld's. My condition—in these present changes of command—seems to run parallel, for in Colonel Overton's regiment's removal, when paid off, am I—as to all musters, till, as I take it, the first of August—included, and the being once withdrawn they

leave me on a single concern, which too often proves dilatory and difficult, besides I am as to them reduced, my present employment being a new conferment, and notwithstanding the same should be marched into Scotland I could not thereby have so much advantage as being paid off with my late charge and these companies that are at liberty, one of which is in Kent, two in this county, also dispersed, behind the army in pay, unrecruited, wanting many supplies with[out] which they cannot be fitted this winter for a march. My Lieutenant-Colonel is at London about these and the like things for them. Sir upon these reasons I desire this favour that you will move my Lord General on my behalf, otherwise I fear I may receive that prejudice which I am assured his Lordship, out of his accustomed kindness to officers and particular favours to myself, is not inclined to put upon me. . . . As to public affairs you are by correspondence as fully acquainted therewith, only take this private hint of a meeting of about fifty officers at Derby upon my Lord Lambert's being in this country, though his Lordship was not informed of their desires drawn up and subscribed. Colonel Sankey, myself, Major Creed and others were appointed to model a draft of a petition and address, which was effected in five heads. The first was to revive the army's proposal and address for the expedience of settlement. Second, was the danger of invading the army's union by the adversary as his last design to create and foment divisions, so humbly offered a settled order during the Parliament's pleasure of continuing an army, and prayed my Lord Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of horse and foot, my Lord Lambert next. Some debate was from some persons that had best known Scotland, but concluded my Lord Disborough and Lord Monck the other two grand officers, leaving titles to the Parliament. Third head, for removing neutral magistrates, countenancing such as in this time of danger appeared and adhered to the Parliament, those fit and qualified with magistracy and other power in their respective countries. Arrears to be paid militia, volunteers or county troops, &c. Fourth, Corporations lately guilty themselves and receiving the accessions of enemies into their towns to have a signal mark of disfavour put upon them. All other corporations to be better regulated suitable to the constitution of a Commonwealth's government. Fifth head, to bring to condign punishment magistrates, ministers and others that excited or fell in with the late insurrection. I durst not send a copy till the same had been communicated at London, but thought it necessary to impart the heads, entreating you to keep them private till you publicly receive one, only to give my Lord a hint thereof." *Seal of arms.*

COLONEL MICHELL, COLONEL SANKEY and others to GENERAL MONK.

1659, September. [Derby]—Enclosed is a paper of proposals agreed on by the officers of the army engaged in the suppression

of the insurrections in Cheshire, Lancashire, &c., to be tendered to the General Council of officers in London. We send them to your Lordship to prevent future surprisals, not doubting of your concurrence after our many years' experience of your fidelity to the public and readiness in the pursuit of the principles which we formerly contended for. If your Lordship please to make any return, pray do it with all expedition and direct to Lieut.-Colonel Duckenfield or Major Creed in London, whither they are going to the General Council of officers there by appointment of the council of officers met together here. *Fifteen signatures.*

#### LIEUT.-COLONEL ARTHUR YOUNG to GENERAL MONK.

1659, October 9. Glasgow—The Provincial Assembly have agreed upon endeavouring to unite all the ministers in Scotland. For that purpose they have appointed two of every presbytery to meet at Edinburgh, "that they may present something to the Parliament, if not underhand to send to Charles Stewart to come with some forces, which it is thought he may procure in regard of the union betwixt France and Spain. Both in their preaching and praying they express much dislike against toleration."

#### THE NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN of Perthshire to GENERAL MONK.

1659, October 13—Begging him to take measures for staying the "contagious infection" among the horses in the garrison of Drummond. *Fifteen signatures.*

#### S. L. to LORD LAMBERT.

1659, October 24—Urging him to take up the King's cause, and sending him a copy of a [supposed?] proclamation of Charles II., which has been three months in the town. [*Printed as a pamphlet in 1659 (British Museum press mark, 8,122b); also in Somers' Tracts, Vol. VI., p. 538.*]

#### OFFICERS OF THE ARMY in Scotland to the CHURCHES OF CHRIST in the three Nations.

[1659, October]—A declaration. *Printed in "A true Narrative of the proceedings in Parliament, Council of Safety, General Council of the Army and Committee of Safety, from the 22 of September till this present." King's Pamphlets, E 1,010, No. 24, p. 26.*

#### ARMY in SCOTLAND.

[1659, October]—A declaration of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland and of the officers of the army under

his command, in vindication of the liberties of the people and the privileges of Parliament. *Printed with a few variations in "A true Narrative," p. 24. Issued after the preceding.*

The MILITIA of LONDON.

1659, October—"The names of militia appointed by the Committee of Safety after the Council of Officers dissolved the Parliament, which was 11th of October, 1659." *Printed in "A true Narrative," p. 70.*

CAPTAIN GRIFFITH LLOYD to GENERAL MONK, in Edinburgh.

1659, November 12. Wallingford House—"I have received command from my Lord Fleetwood to write to your Lordship, who would have done it himself had he not been troubled with a soreness in his eyes. His Lordship is troubled at the messenger Mr. Houlcupp's going away without his knowledge, having kept him some time in expectation of hearing from your Lordship, and intending to have sent your Lordship an answer by him to that which the messenger that came last from you brought, but he being gone my Lord hath answered yours by one Burges, a messenger from hence, but I conceive Mr. Houlcupp was under some fear of being put under restraint for some words spoken by him somewhat too unadvisedly, and for that reason hasted out of town. But I can assure your Lordship whatever his guilt may be there was not the least design of that nature intended against him for your Lordship's sake, neither was there any cause of suspicion given him why he should fear any such thing, for I know my Lord hath a great respect for your Lordship and such as relate to you, and your messenger well knows that when he was under restraint at his first coming to this town, my Lord upon notice of it commanded me to see him enlarged, which I did accordingly, and I hope the Lord will maintain a right understanding between my Lord and yourself, notwithstanding all endeavours by others to the contrary, and that he will knit your hearts to each other in love and friendship, which I can assure you is the earnest desire of his Lordship, and I hope you will believe me herein. The Lord reconcile those seeming differences which may be between us at present, that yet we may be instruments in his hand for the accomplishment of that work we have hitherto professed to carry on to his praise."

COLONEL MILES MAN to GENERAL MONK, in Edinburgh.

1659, November 12. Scone, near Inverness—"I received your Lordship's, dated the 29 of October, with a declaration in it to be signed by the officers of Colonel Smvth's regiment—which is the same as one of the former—only there is added to it the three letters sent by your Lordship to Mr. Speaker, the Lord

Fleetwood and the Lord Lambert, and that we shall be true and faithful to your Lordship, which is signed by all the commission officers in this garrison, and I intend to send it to Sincklar and Ruthin that it may be signed by those officers also, and from thence to Major Hill, and I shall desire him to send it to your Lordship when he hath signed it. The officers of this garrison are very well satisfied in your proceedings, and likewise those at Sincklar and Ruthin. This week two sad accidents had like to have fallen out in this garrison, for both the great buildings had like to have been on a flame, which could hardly have been quenched but that they were timely discovered, for the fire had got into two beams which lay under a chimney in each building, and had burnt within two or three inches of the floors. We have had many such accidents before, as Ensign Cartwright can inform your Lordship, and searched all the chimneys, and what we found dangerous we did help them. However, I shall make another search to prevent as much as I can for the future. The overseers in those days, as also the masons and carpenters, were very negligent in suffering the beams to be laid as they are." *Seal with arms and crest.*

CAPTAIN ROBERT SCRAPE to GENERAL MONK, at Edinburgh.

1659, November 14. Dundee—As I have in my former letters declared against falseness in any to trust repose in them, so I am still, and hope ever shall be, of the same mind and judgment, let my judgment be what it will. My Lord, I have much considered, weighed, and pondered upon the late so great change in England, and upon the whole my spirit is drawn to conclude upon this: that though the army in England did attempt a matter of so high a nature, to interrupt and dissolve the late Parliament, from whom we received our commissions, and though I cannot receive as yet full satisfaction as to their attempt in that nature, yet I cannot find my heart to be drawn out so far to engage against them, as it hath been against those which they and we have been engaged together against, the great enemy of England's peace. Indeed, my Lord, it is so sad to me when I do think upon it that my heart is almost overwhelmed within me, that we which have prayed together, took counsel together, fought together, obtained victories together, and rejoiced so often together, I say that we, which have been thus together, should be anywise provoked each against other so high to engage one another's heads and hands for the fighting one against another to the destroying of each other, which through God's mercy the common enemy was not ever permitted to do, but in all their attempts was worsted. My Lord, the Parliament, from whom I did receive my commission, are so scattered that they are most of them repaired to their homes, but had they taken themselves to any place and called for our aid and assistance for their peaceable sitting I do so own it as my principle and duty that I would forthwith

have contributed my utmost assistance for them or other ways desired them to accept to take in my commission again. My Lord, it is now next Easter seventeen years since I have been in the service of the Commonwealth, and I can also say I bless God that no man can justly say I was a coward in what service soever I was put upon, and I was generally of the marching army. I was of my Lord of Essex regiment of horse at first Newbury fight, where I was wounded, after in my Lord Fairfax's regiment of foot, and the next march of the said time. I have been sixteen years in commission, so I hope I shall not be reckoned amongst those which are cowards. If I be, my conscience tells me to the contrary, that I have the part of a man in me in the field in a just quarrel. My Lord, when I do think upon what great kindness I have received from your Lordship when I was wounded at Falkirk, I do not know how to have an esteem high enough of your Lordship, together with your stoutness, good conduct and prudence I have myself much observed and taken notice of to be in your Lordship, upon which accounts were it that we were to engage against a common enemy, none should more put forth his capacity and courage to go along and join with your Lordship than myself. I beseech your Lordship entertain such thoughts of me, for assuredly my Lord my heart is much towards you, and as occasion hath offered I have declared so much, not only here to those I have conversed with, but also in England of late. Further, my Lord, I do humbly crave that your Lordship will not take it amiss that I have assumed the boldness to be so bold with your Lordship. I shall be careful of the four companies of my Colonel's regiment to keep them in good order. I do wish I might receive your Lordship's order for the march of them to Colonel Overton, by reason all the field officers of his regiment are in England. *Seal of arms.*

#### COUNCIL OF OFFICERS.

1659, November 15. Wallingford House—Agreement of the General Council of officers for the army in England and Scotland, and Commissioners appointed by the General Council of officers in Ireland. *Printed in Baker's Chronicle, p. 693, ed. 1670.*

MAJOR YAXLEY ROBSON to GENERAL MONK, at Edinburgh.

1659, November 21. Citadel of Ayre—Upon my return to this garrison I made known to the several officers of the six companies here your Lordship's answer and resolutions concerning those particulars which I was commanded by them to signify to your Lordship, and was much troubled to see many of the officers to disown that which not long since they did freely set their hands to. I fear my Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain Lieutenant Gosslinge, Lieutenant Bagott, Lieutenant

Frewinge, Ensign Hamnett and Ensign Stanton will not be free to act in this good and considerable business which the Lord hath put upon you. I humbly desire that your Lordship would use all means possible to give them satisfaction, especially my Lieutenant-Colonel, whose company we much desire with us. I can assure your Lordship the companies are fully satisfied and resolved to act with cheerfulness, and shall make it my only business at present to keep them in unity, and shall by the assistance of God keep this citadel for the interest of the Parliament, and shall not willingly yield to any others, under any pretence whatsoever, without your Lordship's commands. If all the above-mentioned officers leave off there will be some companies having not one commission officer left them, and do humbly conceive there will be a necessity, as well as safety, that your Lordship please to appoint others immediately to supply their vacancies. The bearer hereof, Ensign More, who I do humbly [beg] that your Lordship would please to return to us again, being a person well beloved, an old officer and faithful, and will be of much use with us. There is also Lieutenant Hickson, Lieutenant Fenninge, Ensign Crafts, Sergeant Barrowes, Sergeant Smith, Sergeant Hutton, Sergeant Fisher and Sergeant Fenninge, who are deserving good soldiers and faithful, would be well accepted of in the several companies. I cannot be positive in this, because know not how or what the resolutions of the present officers are, and therefore shall leave Ensign More to give your Lordship an account of these officers. I also humbly crave that your Lordship would send to us a faithful and well-experienced gunner, we having not one that can be useful to us if any occasion should be, as also some honest officer, whom your Lordship shall think fit, to take the charge of this considerable place. My Lord, you may be assured of my faithfulness, but am sensible of my own unfitness and weakness to undergo such a burden. If Lieutenant-Colonel Crispe should leave us I do humbly conceive that there cannot be safety for any of the six companies to quarter in the town, and therefore shall, if your Lordship please to order, draw all into the citadel, and must request your Lordship to make some provision for us for our locality for coals and candles, both for the companies and guards. We have not at present any store of each, and must be forced to supply ourselves, they being absolute necessities. I have no more to add at present, but shall leave this bearer to give your Lordship a more full account; shall only desire the Lord to strengthen your hands and encourage your heart in the worst of difficulties in this good and great work.

#### COMMISSIONERS FOR THE ARMY IN SCOTLAND.

[1659, December, beginning of ?]—Instructions:—1. To repair to York or Newcastle or such place as shall be agreed upon, to treat with the like number commissioned by Lord Fleetwood and the Council of Officers in England.



2. To confer with the former Commissioners and learn why they went beyond their instructions.

3. To complain to Lord Lambert and the English Commissioners that, during the last treaty, their army was recruited, the militia raised and expresses were stopped.

4. To express the desire of General Monk and his officers for peace and friendship with their brethren in England.

5. To insist upon the restoration of Parliament.

6. To show that General Monk and his officers are willing to confirm whatever in the former agreement accorded with his instructions to his Commissioners, although not to those articles in which the Commissioners went beyond their instructions, concerning the constitution of the Council of Officers, of the Army, and of the Navy, the calling of a new Parliament and the case of the displaced officers.

#### COMMISSIONERS FOR THE ARMY IN SCOTLAND.

[1659, December, beginning of ?]—Private instructions.\*  
 “Notwithstanding anything contained in your public instructions, you may consent to a General Council of Officers and to the calling of another Parliament in these cases, and with these limitations following:—

“1. Concerning the General Council of Officers, you are to provide that they do not meddle with any civil matters, and you are to see that there be military matters of that concernment as may require such a council, and that the power and jurisdiction of this council be expressed and declared, and that the officers here be made acquainted with the whole matter and their opinion be first had in it.

“2. In regard the Navy and the Army never were one body, and the three armies at this time are three distinct bodies, which beside the common cause have each their distinct interests, you shall provide that each of the three armies of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Navy may in the said General Council of Officers have their respective negative voices upon one another and upon all the rest, and that the representees of the said Armies and Navy shall from time to time follow the directions of the said Armies and Navy, and shall be liable to be changed or recalled at their pleasure. Unless they shall agree that the said Armies be united under the seven Commissioners appointed by authority of Parliament, and then they are to be consulted with concerning the constitution of the said General Council.

“3. Concerning the calling a new Parliament, it is to be consented to in these cases only and with these provisoes following:—1. That in all other things you be agreed, and that the question remain only there. 2. In case the members of the present Parliament shall refuse to sit, or do not make their application to you, nor assist the Army of Scotland in their own defence. 3. That it be agreed that the said new Parliament

\* Perhaps a copy of those to the former Commissioners, given to the later ones.

consist of one House only, viz., that which was formerly called the House of Commons, and that to them be solely and fully remitted the establishing of a new Government, provided that they do not call in C[hables] S[tuart] or set up any single person whatsoever, and that they do not infringe the liberty granted to tender consciences, and that the time of their sitting be limited. 4. That inasmuch as there is no power at this time extant which is capable to limit and restrict the elections of the said Parliament or to appoint the qualifications of the members—unless the Long Parliament be suffered to meet again—that the elections be made according to the ancient constitution or according to the proportion in the Instrument of Government, and that the qualifications be according to the said Instrument of Government or the Petition and Advice. Or at least that they be made by the Council of State, lately authorised by Parliament, and they all be suffered to consult freely, this proviso being always added, that the members of Parliament indent with the Sheriff against C[hables] S[tuart] and any other single person whatsoever, and likewise that they indent to preserve and continue liberty to tender consciences. 5. That it be provided that no persons be recommended to any shire, city or town corporate to be elected, under the penalty of 1,000*l.*, to be paid by the person recommending, and that no members of the army shall come to the elections with force or threatenings, or firearms, or men under command, upon the same penalty. 6. That a protestation be drawn up to be signed by all commission officers to obey the Parliament as the supreme authority, providing they do not set up C[hables] S[tuart] nor destroy liberty of conscience.

“4. Concerning the case of the displaced officers, you are to refer it to Parliament only. But in case you find you cannot get that granted, you are to break off upon some other point.”

COLONEL SAMUEL ATKINS to WILLIAM CLARKE, at Dalkeith.

1659, December 1. From my close prison at Westminster—  
“Colonel Markham and myself delivered my Lord General’s letter to the Lord Mayor on Wednesday, the 23rd past, which hath occasioned both our close imprisonment. I confess I was against the delivery of it, being the peace was concluded the week before, and said it would create jealousies of my Lord General, &c., but it was thought fit by wiser heads than myself it should be delivered. When I was examined, I told them I thought G[eneral] M[onk] feared his Commissioners would not obtain such terms as he desired, at least so soon as the business required, therefore he might write that letter to show his resolution still to stand out, and that his Lordship’s end in writing thereof was conceiving it might come in the heat of the treaty and so it might stir up the Lord Mayor, &c., to become mediators, and I do from my heart believe this was the reason,

"They seemed at Whitehall to be greatly troubled that his Lordship should send Commissioners to treat, and within seven days after send such a letter to set all in confusion, but I told them what his Lordship's design was by writing it." When they seized me they took other papers of my own writing, "which locks the prison doors the faster upon me. There were several of these letters in other hands besides what came to me, and copies were delivered out of them two or three days before we delivered the letter to my Lord Mayor. They have got one or two that were written with your hand, which is best known here, for the letter Colonel Markham and I delivered was not your hand, so they pretended we had forged it, and printed so much in the Diurnal, or to that effect. However I suffer, I am content and am glad there is an agreement made between you without bloodshed, for there were many watched for it that are enemies to both. . . . Colonel Wilkes told them all their private instructions before ever they began to treat."

JO. URQUHART, Sheriff, to GENERAL MONK.

1659, December 5. Cromartie—Assuring him that all in the shire are resolved to behave themselves peaceably, and submit to the present government of the Commonwealth.

GENERAL MONK to GENERAL FLEETWOOD.

[1659, December 7 ?]—"I have received your Lordship's of the 1st instant, and am according to your Lordship's desire making all possible preparations for expediting the treaty and bringing these unhappy differences to a happy composure, which is at this time my chiefest and indeed only design. I could have wished your Lordship had not at this time touched upon my honour, which I assure your Lordship is a point as tender as it is unconcerned in this business, but I do set so high a rate upon the peace of the nations and the interest of God's people that I shall not further expostulate with your Lordship upon that. I was no further obliged by any act of our Commissioners than where instructions would bear them out, and how far that was themselves are able to show, for they have them to produce for their own justification. What assurance they made to the Council of Officers with you, or what they affirmed there, I know not, nor what power they had to give any assurance or make any affirmation at all to any unless with the Commissioners with whom they were to treat. But for the ending of all disputes of this nature and for the preventing of such mistakes and consequently delays in this ensuing treaty, I have sent for them to come to me from Newcastle to Barwick before the treaty begins, that I may have a thorough information of the whole matter. As for the performance of the other articles of the agreement, I have already made an offer to my Lord Lambert to draw the forces off

according to the provision there made, in case it should please his Lordship to do the like, but cannot yet obtain that favour at his hands. But for setting Colonel Cobbett at liberty I shall defer it till the agreement be fully perfected. And in the meantime shall hope your Lordship will be satisfied when I tell you that I do not look upon him as a messenger or as one that may claim the benefit of that plea, but as a person that, after he was laid aside by the Parliament, did notwithstanding come down hither to act upon their commission and to put in execution a design of which your Lordship shall hear further hereafter, and which I do not think his bringing a letter from your Lordship can excuse or be sufficient to make your Lordship his only competent judge. My Lord, I entreat your Lordship to pardon this freedom of mine, and not to look upon it as intended by me to widen the breach which is already too great between us, but only as of necessity compelled to make answer to your Lordship's pressing letters. And that your Lordship would be pleased rather to press those officers with you, who are so difficult to be brought over to a compliance, than us, with the dangers that are like to follow upon our irresolutions. It had been seasonable advice when the consultation was had about forcing the Parliament, to have laid before them the advantages the common enemy was like to gain by that act, and the dangers and divisions which were like to ensue in army and Commonwealth, and that all this would lie at their doors. But for myself and the rest here, as we were no way the beginners of this breach, so we shall make it our chiefest aim and think it our greatest mercy, if it may please God to make us the instruments of closing it up so as it may produce peace and prosperity to the nations and liberty and freedom to the people of God, to which, if any other consideration may be added, it shall be the peculiar respect I have for your Lordship, which in all the time of this unhappy difference I have been very zealous to preserve, and it is none of the least of my hopes and expectations upon the issue of this treaty that your Lordship may again have occasion to account me your" humble servant. *Draft.* [Probably written at the same time as that to Lambert, quoted in *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 695.]

LORD WARISTON to his brother, SIR JAMES STEWART, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

1659, December 10— . . . "This is to show you that the General Council of Officers has resolved that a Parliament be called and sit in or before February, and that it consist of two assemblies. They are much inclined to use all possible means to prevent war, blood and mischief so far as they can. The city is much calmed since at their desire the Grenadiers are removed. There are two regiments of foot and two of horse lying about Portsmouth. The Lord, who is the God and prince of peace and can command and create peace, restore

it and preserve it in these nations and move the heart of every-one to contribute to it in their relations and stations. I send you Dr. Owen's answer to the two grand questions of the time about the magistrates' powers in matters of religion and the other about tithes."

[GENERAL MONK] to [GENERAL LAMBERT].

[1659, December 14?]"—"By way of a further answer to your Lordship's letters by our Commissioners, and to manifest to your Lordship how desirous I am that this business may come to a speedy and a happy issue, I have made all possible haste to send the enclosed to you, and by that time your Lordship shall have signed them and sent hither a safe conduct and drawn back your forces, my Commissioners shall be furnished with instructions and be ready to set out for Alnwick. It was condescended to by Colonel Sankey—who affirmed he had power from your Lordship—that the treaty should be held at a place most convenient and equal for both parties, and in all likelihood a good progress had been made in it by this time had it not pleased your Lordship to give us the late diversion. I assure your Lordship I did not understand the meaning of it, nor do yet, but I am so desirous of the peace and settlement of these poor nations, which are even now upon the brink of ruin, and of continuing and renewing the ancient love and friendship between the armies, that I shall willingly pass it by, provided that your Lordship will no longer lay the blame of the delays upon me, but acknowledge—with Colonel Sankey—where the fault indeed was." *Draft. [Probably written at the same time as one to Fleetwood, of this date, which is amongst the Clarke MSS. at Worcester College, Oxford.]*

*Enclosing,*

#### *Articles of Agreement.*

[1659, December]—*Heads of agreement*:—1. "That the forces of both the Lord Monck's and Lord Lambert's army return into the same quarters they were in on the first day of December last and continue there during the treaty.

"2. That the place for the treaty be Anwick in Northumberland, and the time of its beginning the [blank] day of this instant December.

"3. That the number of the Commissioners appointed to treat be five of each army, and none of them be excepted against by either party.

"4. That no letters or packets signed by the Commissioners of either army be interrupted or opened, but have free passage to such person or persons in England, Scotland, or Ireland as they are directed to, and the like privilege and freedom to their messengers, so that such messengers be sent to the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Monck, or Lord Lambert, and no other person.

"5. That these articles be agreed to by the Lord Lambert in the name and behalf of all the army in England.

"6. That a safe conduct for the five Commissioners appointed by the Lord Monck in behalf of his army and their attendants be given by the Lord Lambert for their coming to Anwick and return to Berwick, and the like given by the Lord Monck for the Commissioners of the Lord Lambert's army to come to Anwick and return to Newcastle. And that the treaty continue for [blank] days after the aforesaid [blank] instant and no longer." Draft.

JOHN ROW and others, concerning the COLLEGES of OLD AND NEW ABERDEEN.

1659, December [between the 14th and 21st]—"Since the purest truth, running through the muddy channels of popular report, cannot but contract soil, and, being delineated by the unskilful pencil of vulgar fame, doth oftentimes degenerate from its genuine nature; wherefore, that the world may be undeceived and all mistakes obviated, we have judged it expedient to present to public view with our mourning pen a full and real relation of those deplorable accidents fallen out betwixt us and our neighbour college, rather to be rolled up in the dark veil of everlasting silence than to be presented on a Christian theatre. The source and fountain of these our mischiefs is this; there were some three or four young men who were students the last year in the New-town college, who because of their relations with us and their Regent's absence and other pressing reasons did willingly stay at our college, being directed hither by their friends judging it their greater advantage, but the masters of the other college—as if this were not most familiar unto themselves, which we do not disapprove, since gentlemen are free and at their parents' disposal—did much cry out, condemning this as a vice in us which their practice shows they allow as a virtue in themselves, and to reduce their former scholars they fell upon most absurd and base practices. Some of their masters, engaging their students in the quarrel, did most frequently come, attended with troops of them, both to our college and town, upon the least information of any scholar's arrival, either to take them away by persuation or force. In this they were so impudent that they were not ashamed to dacker\* in search of them the taverns and stables of our town. Neither here resting, upon the eighth of this instant December a multitude of their students with their porter—at whose persuation we spare to speak—about three or four hours in the morning did surprise a student of others [ours?] lying in the town and violently carried him with them, but how soon he was free of safe keeping did of his own accord most speedily return again, a symptom that his stay with us was not by constraint. The New-town students, per-

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\* To search for stolen goods.

ceiving their captive to be gone, did in tumultuating manner come towards our college, whereof some six or eight did enter, demanding that the boy—since he wanted parents—might be made to declare before them whether it was his own desire to stay or to return where he was, else would they again take him by force. These their foolish threats, though we little regarded, yet since it was also the earnest desire of Principal Moor and Mr. John Forbes, Regent, their masters, that their students might be humoured, we, studious of peace, condescended to them, and in the presence of these masters the boy declared that it was his desire to stay in our college. Yet this did not quiet their distempered minds fraught with fury and diabolic madness, but they further desired that the boy might be carried to their college, there also to declare his mind, which unreasonable suit their masters, more studious to please their scholars than to keep their authority, also pressed, though they confessed their satisfaction with what was already done. We, that it might be demonstrated to the world how zealous we were that a good understanding might be kept betwixt the students of both houses, and that gentlemen's sons—whose safety is to us our own life—might not incur any inconvenience, did so much deny ourselves as to grant them this also, yet the boy, as before, so now did still testify his ardent desire to be with us, so that now again it may appear how little credit ought to be given to the calumnies of the masters of our neighbour college, who gives us out to the world to be violent takers of their scholars. Here it is to be observed that our students—though they wanted neither numbers nor courage not only to repulse the injuries and affronts of a part, but of their whole college—yet such was their goodness and reverence to their masters, that crossing their youthful humours, at their desires and commands they opened not their mouths; an expression of more nor ordinary grace and obedience. After all which, upon the twelfth of this instant, we commissioned two masters to enquire of their principals if they had animadverted upon the insolencies of their scholars and to desire in times to come that all such provocations and grounds of offence might be obviated; but it was returned that as yet nothing was done, neither afterwards—notwithstanding of their promise—did they call to an account the seditious authors of their former wrongs. This their omission of discipline doth sufficiently declare either a want of authority—no small defect in a master—or that which is worse, a connivance and secret approbation of their scholars' doings, by which they have animated them to further folly and prodigious attempts even practiced, not in any age to be paralleled, for upon Wednesday last, being the 14 of this instant, some thirty or forty of the strongest of them armed with batons, iron clubs, dirks and other murdering weapons did surprise our students betwixt seven and eight at night, some at supper, others giving Christian thanks for mercies received, and did with more nor a barbarous cruelty hurt some and wound

others, neither did this their diabolic fury cease from raging, while our scholars more frequently convening repulsed the same and turned them home. Those horrid riots and unheard of home-suken,\* more be seeming infernal furies than Christian students, we have most seriously represented to the civil magistrate, entreating for such redress as law and the gravity of the crime doth require. All the ground alleged for these murdering acts and cruel massacres is this which followeth:—

There was a scholar, who was our own the former year, who at his coming from home was somewhat of mind to go to the New-town college, but afterwards animadverting that this could not be done but by the loss of his friends' countenance and favour, he suffered himself easily to be persuaded by some of his condisciples and cousins to return to us again, which he did perform before he either entered their town or college. If this be a wrong not to be redressed but by blood and wounds the criminal judges shall determine, neither shall we spare expense nor labour in prosecuting this so monstrous a villainy, while such condign punishment be taken as may be satisfactory to the injured and deter the wicked from the like undertakings in after times. Thus have we plainly and with what brevity we could given a true and faithful narration of the rise and progress of those tragical accidents that our innocence may appear, that neither we nor our students be stained by sinistrous information with the foul spots of so horrid facts and crimes."

MR. JO. ROW.

PAT. SANDILANDS.

AN. MASSIE.

W. JOHNSTOUNE.

GE. GORDONE.

COLONEL SAMUEL ATKINS to GENERAL MONK or COLONEL MAYERS,  
Governor of Berwick.

1659, December 24—I advised you last post how near we were to an end of our troubles, and how all parts were up for the Parliament, and that Sir A. H[esilrige] was three thousand horse and foot at Portsmouth; and this day hath produced a total declaring for the Parliament of all the forces in London and the Tower, and all places here are now at their devotion, and Fleetwood sent to the Speaker yesternight that the Lord had blasted them and spit in their faces and witnessed against their perfidiousness, and that he was freely willing to [lie at?] their mercy. Colonel Okey and Colonel Markham have a commission from the Speaker and [sever]al members to command all the horse of the armies in [England?] and Colonel Alured and Colonel Mosse, &c., the foot, and the Parliament doors were [opened] and the Speaker and several members have met and written letters to all their members to give their attendance, so that next week the Parliament will sit. Desborow and Fleet-

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\* *Or* hame-sucken, the crime of assaulting a person in his own house.



wood, Berry, Ashfield and all that have acted with them are in a mourning condition. They think it in vain to fly, but some must be made examples."

It is well understood "that you will leave all the rebels to the mercy of the Parliament. Lawson is still with his fleet at Gravesend, and all unanimous for the Parliament."

I was released last Saturday, "after twenty-one days close imprisonment for delivering your letter to my Lord Mayor, &c. But the case is now altered. The Anabaptists are all as tame as asses and as mute as fishes."

*Postscript.*—"Your Excellency is made Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in England and Scotland, and Captain Goodwin is at Gravesend [waiting] for a wind with your commission." *Damaged.* [*Compare Hesilrige's letter in the Report on the Portland MSS., Vol. 1, p. 689.*]

#### DOCTOR THOMAS CLARGES to [THOMAS] GUMBLE.

1659, December 26. London—"The scene of affairs here is much altered in one week, as you may perceive by the enclosed diurnal, which is a book published by my directions, for I have been a great printer since I came hither. Captain Goodwin will shew you also two printed pieces of my contrivance, one is '*Hypocrites unmasked*,' and the other is called '*A letter from a Colonel in Scotland to an officer at London*.' I sent that letter from Nottinghamshire and dated it from Edinburgh, and I put to it Ethelbert Morgan, and it is not known to this day but that it came from him to one Colonel Markham, and pray desire him to own it if need be. This Colonel Markham is one that heretofore was a great acquaintance of my Lord Broghill, and did do some ill offices to my brother [Monk], but he has made large amends here, for he has been an active stickler for him, and delivered his letter to the city and was imprisoned for it. Mr. Weaver, the Parliament man, is his brother-in-law, and he has a regiment in Ireland, and is a very honest Presbyterian. About ten days since things had no very good face, for we feared the forces that went against Portsmouth might prevail against it, but they all went into the town, which was a great accession to our cause. I have many times been forced to hide myself since I came hither, for I am present at all the most private consultations and most despatches are of my drawing, and M. Lock he writes them fair, which may perhaps get him to be clerk of the Council of State. The last despatch to my brother of the 22nd of this month was of my drawing, only the expressions in it against the Commissioners was not so sharply in my copy as in that letter which was sent. Mr. Philip Howard, when things were at worst, offered to raise a troop of gentlemen in the north and carry them in to my brother upon condition to command them for a life guard, which our friends here encouraged him to, and he has been a week gone northwards. He is a stout man and ventures a good

estate, and in the last Parliament of the Protector, whereof he was a member, he was a great Commonwealth's man. If my brother comes to London I conceive he will leave honest Major-General Morgan Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland. I hope the General has given honest Hublethorp a regiment."

The MARQUIS OF ARGYLE and the LAIRD OF MC CLEAN.

[1659?].—Proposals tendered to General Monk by the friends of the Laird of Mc Clean for removing the debates at law between him and the Marquis of Argyle.

1. Mc Lean's friends are willing—upon the Marquis's accounting before indifferent men of judgment at Edinburgh as to his claims upon Mc Lean's father—to give security to the said Marquis for what sum the auditor shall find due, to be paid at several terms, as may be done without inconvenience.

2. If the Marquis wishes present satisfaction, they are willing to take a sufficient amount of his debts with his creditors in Edinburgh, according to a list to be given to Monk by Argyle.

3. If these overtures do not satisfy the Marquis, it is prayed (for the avoiding of long and litigious suits at law), that Argyle chose his lawyers to meet with those of Mc Lean, viz.: Sir Jo. Gilmur, Mr. Jo. Fletcher and Mr. Andrew Gilmur, to determine the case.

4. If the Marquis apprehends any partiality in the lawyers the friends of Mc Lean pray the Lord General to be umpire. [*Printed at length by Mr. Firth in "Scotland and the Protectorate," p. 416.*]

The MAYOR and ALDERMEN OF CARLISLE to GENERAL MONK, in Scotland.

1659[-60], January 2. Carlisle—"This is the day which the Lord hath made for the rejoicing of these nations in the horn of His salvation. The snare is broken and we are delivered. Blessed be God, who hath not cast out our prayers nor turned His mercy from us; and precious may your memorial be in the midst of his people, who have not counted your life dear unto yourself, that you might put a stop to the deluge of confusions in this breach of all bonds, both of God and man. My Lord, our hearts have ever joined with you, and as we have formerly declared our fidelity to this Parliament, so we now hold it our duty to present our affections to your hands by Captain Cuthbert Studholme, that if there be anything wherein your Lordship conceives us serviceable in this good cause, we may receive your commands by him, which we shall observe with zeal."

Signed by Isaac Tullie, Mayor; Tim Tullie and Comfort Starr, ministers; and seven others.\*

STAFFORDSHIRE.

[1660], January 5—"An account of the state of Stafford and Staffordshire, as Major Barton found it when he was deputed

\* For their further proceedings, see Report on the Portland MSS., vol. 1, p. 693.

by Colonel Sanders and Colonel Hacker for the disbanding of those unparliamentary troops and companies there."

January 3. Being come to Stafford, he found the troops "very sad in that county by orders from Wallingford House" and unwilling to disband without satisfaction, but at length Captain Dudley's and Captain Gent's companies were disbanded, and their arms put into the Mayor's hands, "who, with one Mr. Wilson, well affected persons, were commissioned to claim two companies of townsmen for the town's defence."

January 5. There came an order from the Commissioners for the government of the army to Colonel Crompton to secure Stafford garrison and to mount the rest for the rendezvous at Northampton, whereon "I proceeded no further in disbanding."

Stafford is very tenable, being naturally fortified, and it is to be considered whether it be not fit to keep it a garrison, as the country is apt to fly into arms, the northern inhabitants being "moorlanders" and the southern parts abounding with "ironmen." There are many papists and malignants there, and a speedy regard should be had to both town and county. [*Compare the letter of Nath. Burton, evidently the same man, Cal. S.P. Dom., 1659-1660, p. 298.*]

GENERAL MONK to the MAYOR and ALDERMEN OF NEWCASTLE and others.

1659[-60], January 5. Newcastle—Appointing new Commissioners for the Militia. *Signed.*

INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE to [GENERAL MONK].

1659[-60], January 6—Praying that they may have an honest and well-principled garrison; that the train-bands may be formed under the command of faithful men; that Tynemouth Castle, "the key of the trade of this place," may be committed to an approved Commander; that the militia may be put into fresh hands; that the officers who adhered to General Lambert may be reduced; and that no Anabaptists or Quakers may be admitted to places of trust, either civil or military.

The SOLDIERS at TYNEMOUTH CASTLE to [GENERAL MONK].

1659[-60], January 6—Denying the report that the Governor of Tynemouth, Major Topping, is about to revolt from his obedience to the Parliament. 96 signatures. *Copy.*

RALPH BAMFORD to [WILLIAM CLARKE?].

1659[-60], January 6. Newcastle—Yesterday, in Gateside [Gateshead] at the Golden Lion, I met one Mr. Ausbourne, who wishes my Lord General to know that he heard Captain Jones say that he himself and another captain intercepted a packet sent

from the General to Major Dorney, "in order to the possession of Newcastle, and did thereby give opportunity to the Lord Lambert for the pre-possession of the same."

#### COLLEGES OF ABERDEEN.

1659-60, January 9—List of Justices of the Peace for examining the business of the colleges of Aberdeen, including the Laird of Knockmedden, the Sheriff of Banff, the Governor of Dunnotar, Dr. Douglas, provost of Banff, and four others.

#### COLONEL PETER WALLIS.

1659[-60], January—Information of Theophilus Eaton, advocate of the Parliament army in Ireland, against Colonel Peter Wallis, for having aided and abetted Lieut.-General Charles Fleetwood, Colonel John Lambert and the rest of the rebellious officers and soldiers in England in their interruption of Parliament, subversion of the laws of the land, destruction of religion and ruin of these nations and the good people thereof. *Copy.*

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM WALKER.

1659[-60], January—A narrative of the deportment of Lieut.-Colonel Walker towards the Parliament since the late interruption.

1. That he went over from Dublin to North Wales upon the rising of Sir George Booth and was instrumental in preventing other risings there.

2. That he hath not received pay "equal with the brigade" since his coming over.

3. That he disapproved the paper called "*The conduct of the Army*," and would not sign it.

4. That having command of the Irish brigade when they were ordered to Yorkshire immediately after the interruption of Parliament, he promoted the writing a letter to Lord Fleetwood, signifying the dissatisfaction of the brigade with the proceedings of the army, and he also occasioned the writing of another letter to say that the brigade would not engage against General Monk and their brethren of Scotland.

5. That he promoted the signing of an engagement amongst the brigade not to fight against General Monk or his army, to which purpose a letter was written to Major-General Lambert.

6. That he joined in sending a letter to the Council of Officers in Ireland, expressing the sense and trouble of the officers of the brigade at the proceedings of the army in England.

7. That Major-General Lambert, hearing of the discontent of the brigade, sent for Lieut.-Colonel Walker and other officers and tried to satisfy them, but Walker told him that they in

Ireland had been passive in all changes in order to avoid blood or declare against their brethren of England, and that "it was some few officers at London that caused the many revolutions and brought in the old Protector," and that they had come over to subdue a common enemy, and, being strangers to persons and things in London, could only be satisfied by an "implicit account."

8. That,—notwithstanding the agreement made between Monk's and Fleetwood's Commissioners, wherein no mention was made of restoring the Parliament,—he wrote to General Ludlow, desiring him to endeavour to bring it in.

9. That being three or four times at the general Council of Officers at Whitehall, he did each time urge the bringing in this Parliament and oppose the election of a new one.

10. That after his coming to London, he wrote to the brigade to declare for the Parliament, which they accordingly did.

11. That formerly, upon the breach of Lord Richard's Parliament and restoring this, he ran a hazard by promoting the Parliament interest in Ireland.

12. That he performed other services, as raising and transporting troops, and that he left Inchiquin on his desertion of Parliament, and discovered his revolt.

#### SIR THEO. JONES TO GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 1. Dublin—I cannot express the comfort given to this army and nation by your letter to the Council of State and assurances on our behalf of our integrity to Parliament, so unjustly aspersed.

As to one of those intended to be sent us by Parliament [as Commissioners], it is hoped that what we formerly said to your Excellency concerning him, "how little the service in the late actings here hath been advantaged but on the contrary much obstructed by him," may be further considered. For the Lord President of Connaught, his hands needs to be strengthened and not weakened, which we fear is designed, "it having been declared in another case that to be in the chief government here is to be divested of commands in the army," which would undermine his power both in the army and in his government. "And although there be not much ground for the Lord Steele's returning hither in his former capacity—as one of the Commissioners of Parliament or as Lord Chancellor—yet finding him to have been lately named amongst others for the government here," I must tell you that he was "the principal discountenancer of ministers and of the very ministry itself," and that by his power as Lord Chancellor he cast out honest men from the Commission of the Peace, putting in Anabaptists, Quakers and such like.

We sent a list of such as were of approved fidelity and that had been nominated to commands, to be presented to Parliament, and hoped to receive their confirmation, yet we understand that

respect has not been had thereunto and that the commands are to be otherwise bestowed, so that persons of we know not what principles may be imposed on the army, "and in conclusion all revert to the former confusion." *Duplicate. Damaged.*

————— to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 2—An account of the guards in London.

The guard at St. Paul's, four companies and two troops.

At Gresham College, one company.

One company in Southwark and at the bridges.

At Whitehall, three companies every night, of which two guard the Parliament when they sit, and return to duty at Whitehall at night.

One troop of horse at the Mews.

One company of foot at Chelsea College every night.

[*Compare Baker's Chronicle, p. 702.*]

#### PARLIAMENT.

1659[-60], February 4—Order of the House of Commons that General Monk is to attend and receive the sense of the Parliament for his signal and faithful services. *Signed by Thos. St. Nicholas. [Printed in Commons' Journals, Vol. VII., p. 834.]*

JOHN BLAND to ROBERT YEAMAN, JUNIOR, in Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7. London—Our city yet stands to its just declaration for a free Parliament, and Monk was yesterday at the House, "but let all talk what they will he doth not please them of the turbulent party, yet doth not declare his resolve, so some hope the best of him that he will seek the nation's good. Others fear his joining with the Rump party." On Sunday he took possession of the Tower.

WILLIAM PRICHARD to WILLIAM CANNE, at Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7. Gray's Inn—The city of London has declared that they will pay no taxes or other impositions till they have a free Parliament, and the greatest part of the counties of England have done the same.

General Monk has refused to take the oath of abjuration of the family of the Kings of England, or any other oath whatsoever, for he told the Council that he made such a promise to all the gentlemen of the counties as he came along.

I suppose you hear of the insurrection here as well as we understand of those in Bristol. "It is verily supposed that

Monk will be for a free Parliament, in regard that he has already declared to the House that it is the sense of all the country to have one." *Endorsed*:—"This is an attorney, a Bristol man; lieth at Gray's Inn."

WILLIAM PRICHARD to his cousin, WALTER GUNTER.

1659[-60], February 7. Gray's Inn—To the same effect as the preceding.

T. PRICHARD to his cousin, WALTER GUNTER, in Broad Street, Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7— . . . "This city, Lord Mayor and Common Council, made an Act on Thursday that they would not tax a penny on this city for soldiers or otherwise till ordered by a free Parliament, let the Rump command what they please. Monk yesterday made a speech in the House much better and different from this enclosed paper, for indeed it is hoped that he will be for a free Parliament, but not certainly known, but if he will not this city and other counties are resolved to procure it, at least to endeavour it, in spite of him, yet it is by some hoped he will not oppose it. I conceive it were fit for your city to apply yourselves by some of the best persons of the town to Monk with a well-drawn ingenious remonstrance, with a thousand citizens' hands to it, expressing the decay of trade and the destruction of the city by quartering soldiers, and a declaration that you hazard your lives and fortunes to procure a free Parliament. Thus have a great many cities and counties done already."

*Postscript*.—"Tis talked here this night as if the Parliament would be dissolved in a few days, either by force or voluntary."

THOMAS COTTON, for his Master, THOMAS CARY, to THOMAS RYCRAFT, Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7. London—On Monk's coming in, the soldiers were ordered to leave the city, but being behind with their pay they resolved to mutiny and to declare for a free Parliament before they would be gone. They beat their officers and killed one, and on Friday last engaged with the prentices to rise also. Some hundred or so of these gathered together well armed, and made Leaden Hall their place of rendezvous, expecting that the soldiers would have been true to them, but they proved false, set on the prentices, taking their arms and stripping them of their clothes, and carried about forty to prison half naked. "On Saturday, Monk came in with his army very peaceably, and the other soldiers were forced to depart."

JOHN WATKINS to his cousin, EDWARD WILCOX, in Redcliffe Street, Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7— . . . "Thursday last the foot soldiers, being to march hence to make room for Monk's men and receiving no pay, did resolve not to go, but fell upon their officers, beat them, killed one of their captains, took away the colours, broke the drums in pieces and secured Somerset House, mounted seven pieces of ordnance by the street door, some of them cried out "a free Parliament," and threatened to blow up the Rump. The London apprentices, hearing of this, about twelve o'clock at night beat up a drum for a free Parliament, but it being late and most people in bed, could not gather to so great a head but that a regiment of horse scattered them, took some prisoners, stripped them and brought them to Whitehall. All this while several companies of horse stood before the door of Somerset House that they could not come out to help the apprentices, but at length Friday, about noon, came in General Monk, attended with two regiments of horse and three of foot, every second man of his horse having carbines by their sides besides their swords and a case of pistols. The foot had the best arms and were the likeliest men that ever I saw. All the officers had red and white favours in their hats, and his trumpeters and foot boys a red livery, laced with silver lace, but his foot, being to enter into Somerset House, was denied entrance by the aforesaid soldiers, and there stood before the door about two hours, till at last they within, receiving 10s. apiece, parted quietly and marched towards Canterbury according to their orders. The House was Friday and Saturday upon the qualifications of new-elected members, but resolved to fill themselves up to the number of four hundred, whereof these now sitting to be part. Saturday, the oath of abjuration being tendered to General Monk by the Committee of Safety, he refused it, telling them he would consider of it, and demanding who of them already took it. Mr. Cradocke lies at the sign of the White Hart in the Strand over against Somerset House. Monday, Sir Robert Pye and Major Fincher, who presented the declaration of Berkshire to the Speaker and were by him committed to the Tower, appeared at the Upper Bench bar before Justice Newdigate upon their *habeas corpus*, who made an order that if good cause be not shown by Wednesday next by the State's counsel why they should not (*sic*) be still imprisoned, the return of the *habeas corpus* is to be filed and they to be bailed. I suppose you have seen and heard of the several petitions and declarations of the counties of Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, Gloucester, cities of Rochester, Canterbury, Gloucester, with many others. It is said that Warwickshire declaration was delivered Saturday night, and all agree for a full and free Parliament. Ten thousand watermen subscribed a declaration, and London apprentices likewise. The apprentices had a very fair reception, and as I was told on Sunday by one of the four that delivered it to General Monk, he faithfully promised them a free Parlia-



ment, but would except against all those that were in the late rebellion with Lambert. The secluded members have again petitioned Monk to have the House filled up. I have heard yesterday of your boys. I cannot imagine the event thereof, but I am sure the news put somebody here in a sweat. Sunday, Monk possessed himself with the Tower, as it is reported. Yesterday Monk went to the Parliament House, and there made a small speech, but very little of learning or ingenuity in it. I would have sent it you down, but the postage would be more than it is worth. The three companies of foot that was last with you and two more being at Gravesend yesterday and to be transported to Dunkirk, declared for a free Parliament, whereupon a regiment of horse came and took away their arms, paid them no money and disbanded them. Some are of opinion that Lambert will gather together these scattering soldiers that are abroad and with them declare for a free Parliament if Monk doth not; there is little probability of Monk's doing it."

*Memorandum*:—"John Watkins, servant to Colonel Robert Aldworth, at Lincoln's Inn."

[JOHN WATKINS] to RICHARD MELLICHAP, Broad Street, Bristol.

1659[-60], February 7— . . . "Sunday I spoke with one of those four London apprentices that delivered their declaration, who told me that General Monk promised them a free Parliament, only would except those that were in the late rebellion with Lambert. If so, it was a fair answer, and he stood bare-headed to them and brought them through two rooms to the stairs-head, out of his lodging-chamber." On Saturday he refused the oath of abjuration, on Sunday possessed himself of the Tower, and on Monday went to the Parliament House. "His speech is here enclosed, it is not worth postage."

Yesterday the three companies of foot from Bristol and two more, being ordered to Dunkirk, did at Gravesend unanimously declare for a free Parliament, upon which the regiment of horse that was formerly Colonel Pride's came and took away all their arms, gave them not a farthing of money and disbanded them; but they are now gone to Westminster to get their pay if they can.

Letters and declarations come daily to General Monk for a full and free Parliament. I observe in all his speeches "there is not one word of his resolution to acquiesce in the present powers nor to do his utmost for their preservation. A little time will produce much. I cannot but admire at the spirits of your boys. The report was presently all over London, and many extremely taken with it, others judging it a madness, for they have excelled all other places."

Thursday the House takes into consideration the qualification of new members. Pray burn all my letters.

*Memorandum*:—"Upon second thoughts I have sent up this other letter of John Watkins, servant to Colonel Aldworth, at his lodging in Lincoln's Inn."

## COLONEL JOHN MASON, Governor of Jersey.

1659[-60], February 7—Information of Captain Richard Yardley, Capt. Joseph Underwood and other officers to the Commissioners of the army against Col. Mason. [*The substance of this is printed in a contemporaneous pamphlet called Satan in Samuel's mantle. B.M. press mark 9,004 k 13.*]

*Enclosing,*

*Petition by the same (excepting Yardley) to the same, praying to be re-instated in the commands of which Colonel Mason has deprived them.*

## SCOTLAND.

1659[-60], February [9 ?]—A list of Commissioners and judges for Scotland:—

Commissioners.—Major-General Morgan, Colonel Thomas Pury, Colonel Nathaniel Whetham, Auditor John Thomson, Edmund Petty of Wickam.

Judges.—Mr. Crook of Oxford, Dr. Owen of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Mr. William Lister, Mr. Goodier, Mr. Mosely, Lord Hopton [Hopetoun], Mr. Du Rumble [Sir James Dalrymple], Mr. Peter Wetherborne [Wedderburn], John Ellis and Robert Sinclair of Lockermagus.

[*For date, see order in Commons' Journals, under date February 6th, Vol. VII., p. 835.*]

## COLONEL C. FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 11. York—"I tremble at the account that I must give your Excellency of the meeting of the gentry—about forty in number—yesterday at York. There was a good providence that the night before the Major-General returned to the city. Upon intimation—given me the day preceding—I wrote to my Lord Fairfax, whose honest intentions though I told him I could not suspect, yet something might be inserted in their intended address which might have a tendency to that which my masters had in distaste from other counties. And—as it is my duty to serve them faithfully—I cannot give way it should be in this place. Not that we had the least fear of any surprisal where he was present, were they many thousand, but though they be not forty and only coming in a petitioning way, if to the effect before expressed, t'would draw me into prejudice. In these and other hints to that purpose I declared my perplexity. I sent this letter by Major Bailly, who—by persuasions and arguments—supplied what was wanting. And I being at night with the Major-General, my major brought my Lord's letter in answer, wherein—excusing his omission of giving me notice—he did assure me there was nothing intended but what was just and honest, for which I should incur no blame or disadvantage, and that the persons to meet should not exceed thirty. The

Major-General thought my Lord might take it an affront to be denied entrance with so small a party. Divers of the gentlemen before this meeting came to my chamber—viz., the Lord Fawconberge, Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Christopher Wyvell, Sir Henry Cholmley, &c.—on whom I intending to wait to the Major-General, he came opportunely, pressed the danger in full and plain terms, and they engaging in honour to do fair things—it being only to your Excellency, who upon your dislike might put it in your pocket and not shew it to the Parliament—gave them that liberty. But he being after certified that they acted high, went to the place where they were assembled, and made a large narrative of the ill resent the Parliament had of debates of that nature. What the thing was—it was so ill characterized—we did not look upon it, because we would neither give nor take offence, nor could have prevented, but that it would have been sent from some other place. I have presented it to the Major-General to join in my request to your Excellency that another regiment of horse may be sent into these parts for security of the county, not doubting—but well knowing—that malignants will work upon this foundation, in order whereunto I have sent to Captain Pockley to have all his men at their colours. Indeed they want officers.”

*Postscript.*—“There being a like address from the city of York—moved at their Common Council—it was prudently put off by Sir Rob. Barwick, their Recorder, as being a matter requiring much time and caution.”

MAJOR-GENERAL MORGAN to GENERAL MONK, in Whitehall.

1659[-60], February 11. York—“On my just being ready to take my journey for Scotland I did hear of a great meeting of the Lord Fairfax and several other noblemen and gentlemen in these northern parts, which put a stop to my setting forward [upon which I had] resolved, till such time as I could inform myself [of] the occasion of their meeting, and yesterday the Lord Fairfax, Lord Falkonbridge, with divers others as aforesaid, came to this city, whereupon I went to them and desired to know the reason of so many considerable persons coming to this place together, to which the Lord Fairfax replied it was only in order to the drawing up of a letter to present to the Parliament or your Lordship, and not in the least tending to the disturbance of the Parliament or peace of these nations. Yet I told my Lord and the rest that this meeting of theirs under the garrison's noise [nose?] at this juncture of time, would be of ill report and prove offensive, thereafter I departed from them, and went with Colonel Fairfax to the town's house to meet with the Commissioners for the Militia, and no sooner we arrived there but met with a copy of the paper they intend to present to the Parliament or your Lordship. Upon reading thereof I desired Colonel Fairfax to go along with me once more to attend the said noblemen,

&c., and at meeting took occasion to signify to the Lord Fairfax and the rest my opinion of their said paper, that I conceived the same of dangerous consequence and to tend to no less than the imbrueing these poor nations into blood again, and my being heartily sorry for their such procedure, and that they would not rest satisfied in the present Parliament's determinations, nor give them leave by their impatience to settle these poor distracted nations in peace and quietness, which was never more expected than at this day, nor greater hopes for a settlement on a sure basis than now. My Lord, I do verily believe that the Lord Fairfax hath been much wrought upon by three or four persons, one of which your Lordship may guess, he being my near neighbour, a person that I know your Lordship placed some confidence in. If the Lord Fairfax and the rest of the gentlemen depart this city this morning, and that I find all things peaceable and quiet, I resolve to set forward for Scotland in the afternoon, lest there be some design on foot there, but I conceive the gentlemen in these parts intentions will not be fully known till [they] have the Parliament's and your Lordship's return." I find Colonel Fairfax cordial and constant, and believe "that relations nor anything else will prevail with him to consent to anything prejudicial to the peace of these nations, but that he will use all possible diligence to preserve this city in peace and free from any surprisal or insurrection, who waits for the Parliament's or your Lordship's orders for the further managing the affairs in these parts. But truly, my Lord, as your Lordship well knows, he is ancient and infirm, and thereby disenabled from being so active as formerly to hinder what may happen. Therefore I humbly offer to your Lordship that some fit person may be thought upon to be sent to command the forces in these northern parts with all convenient speed. I have sent for Colonel Smythson and doubt not but he will prove both cordial and honest. The prementioned paper I understand is enclosed in a letter to be sent to your Lordship by four of the gentlemen that consulted with them, two of their names are Mr. Dawny and Mr. Harrison, late sheriff. They intend to begin their journey on Monday next. They [have] also prepared the like to the Lord Mayor of the City of London, the which I could heartily wish might be met with by the way and detained from the City. Truly, my Lord, affairs in these parts begin to look with black faces, threatening disturbing the peace of these nations, if the Lord in much mercy to his poor people prevent not, and I fear there will be opposition made at the gathering in of the assessments. I could heartily desire for the security of the peace in these parts that Colonel Bethell, Major Strangewidge and Major Gutheridge were hastened down to their respective commands. My Lord, I am almost of the opinion that the Lord Fairfax may be easilier drawn off from further joining and appearing in the prenamed particular than he hath already been brought

to it, though they are extreme high in their language. . . . The enclosed is a copy of [a paper] intended to be delivered your Lordship's honour by the foresaid gentlemen. My Lord, the late regiments, the Lord Lambert's and Colonel Smythson's, cannot be expected to be in a good posture till such time commissions come down for them and the respective officers enter to the discharge of their duty; there is great want of money amongst them. Likewise it would exceedingly contribute to the security of this place, &c., that a regiment of horse were ordered for the northern parts here and places adjacent. There are several honest gentlemen in these parts that offer to draw up a paper and to procure a considerable number of hands thereto in opposition to that drawn by the above specified gentlemen, one Major Boyart and Justice Sykes near Leeds are very forward in that particular, but await for encouragement from the Parliament and your Lordship to do the same. At my arrival in Scotland, I shall not fail to give your Lordship a speedy account how I find affairs there. This day came to my hands a letter from Stirling, intimating all is quiet and peaceable. [Lord] Kenmore and about twenty vagabond persons that follow him [are in] Galloway, but I hope Major Farmer will take course to suppress and disperse them before I can get there, where I shall be always ready to observe your Lordship's commands." *Damaged.*

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 14. Appleton—"I perceive you have received reports from several hands of our late proceedings in this county, but out of the great sense I have that misunderstandings in a time when not only this country but the whole nation is labouring for the life and being of their just rights and liberties might be a *remora* to a happy composure of our sad distractions, I could not but acquaint your Lordship that when we first resolved upon a meeting of the gentlemen at York special care was taken that none should be admitted but such as had not been in arms against the Parliament, and there was none amongst us who could be upon that account excepted against, which the Major-General and Colonels here I believe would have prevented, and I must say it was the desires of the most considerable part of the country, who would have met in far greater numbers but for giving occasion of jealousy to the soldiers, and I can further assure your Lordship it was not the contrivance of a few but many, for quality, estate and callings the most interested in the country, with the concurrence of many thousands more, which we forbore for avoiding suspicion to take subscriptions of. The country hath sent up some gentlemen to desire your Lordship to consider what they shall present to you, as one who may be so good a means by the assistance of God to restore this nation to its just rights and privileges, which I earnestly desire you may be

a happy instrument in, as now you have an opportunity to do, and offer it to your wise consideration, and as a true friend, if I may be so free, to your moderation in a business of so high concernment, as we with you seeking by all means, through the blessing of God, a happy settlement, which we conceive will be much advantaged by a favourable reception of those gentlemen. which are sent up from this country and will be shortly with you. Now, my Lord, I should seem very unwise if it were my own concernment in a time when difficulties and dangers would so much discourage hopes to offer a business, yet at such a time as this, when the nation is in such distress, in doing my duty I shall less consider myself, and as I do this out of a sincere affection to the public so my real love and respects to your Lordship, as now opportunity is offered. [That] you may be a happy instrument to open a door of hope for restoring the true interest, rights and just freedom of this nation, is the earnest prayer of your Lordship's most humble servant." *Holograph. Seal with crest.*

T. B . . . to RICHARD BAKER, Lime Street, London.

1659-60, February 14-24—Had the Vanderwoorts been at Brussels before my departure, I should have employed all my interest and industry in their behalf, neither shall I fail to do as much as can be done in absence, hoping for a good correspondence between England and Spain, which may be more easy since Lambert, the Spaniard's professed enemy, is out of power. I never imagined that the present government would own Cromwell's action, so dishonourable and discouraging to the state. "Surely persons who have given so fair proofs of their wisdom and conduct in restoring themselves against all oppositions cannot be ignorant of the benefits may accrue to themselves and the nation by their ancient and surest friends. The reconciliation will become of more easy contrivance by the departure of the three brothers into France, which is daily expected." I cannot yet tell what person will be sent. "You are acquainted with the punctillos of the nation. They will not seem to make the first step, especially conceiving themselves to have received an injury without any occasion given by them." Mr. Wilson was sent only to hear, not to propose, and his application to persons abroad was against their expectation. Their intentions will be found to be real when a person of understanding and trust shall make both parties truly understand one another. You would do well to make the Vanderwoorts apply themselves to Don Alonso [de Cardenas] and to Zamora, the Marquis's secretary, who I believe may be made serviceable by hopes of gratitude. *Endorsed*:—"Intelligence from Brussels."

COLONEL C. FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK, at Whitehall.

1659[-60], February 15. York—"Besides my application to your Excellency—wherein with others I have subscribed—

give me leave by myself in the most serious manner that I can to testify and declare my affections in relation both to my country and nation in general. Surely, we were in a more distracted condition than is imaginable by any particular man in the remote parts or at London. Your last letter in print—brought by Colonel Bethell—is conceived to be of great extent and efficacy towards a general settlement of peace and unity, if that the legislative power might give a stamp of reception and acceptance of your proposals, which cannot but be expected, especially that the sitting of the Parliament may be limited and fixed to a short time, and in the interim nothing but preparatory to an ensuing Parliament, and that the House may be forthwith recruited to make it more complete than yet they are, so that the next—with due qualifications—may proceed in such manner as may establish us a free people to the enjoyment of our rights, both Christian and civil, liberty of conscience to moderate spirits being necessarily included, without which care all the rest will be fruitless. This being the sense and language of most of the more considerable persons that I speak with, I am bold to present, and shall have my pardon of course for any presumption as not seeming to advise, knowing it to be unfit and much above my sphere. As to my regiment I have ordered my major to send a bill of exchange for five hundred pounds according to your Excellency's command, but hear nothing of the return, so that we are at a low ebb for monies and humbly desire your further direction to me whether to give tickets for quarters—as the horse officers do—or borrow of the magistrates, to be repaid out of your next cess, as we find warranted by Act of Parliament. Your Lordship will please to return me the letter—sent me by my Lord Fairfax—which I sent up to the Council.” *Seal of arms.*

GENERAL G. M[ONK] to DAVID DICKSON and others.

1659[-60], February 16. Drapers' Hall—"I received yours by Mr. Sharpe, who is dear to me upon many accounts as my very good friend, but coming with your recommendation upon so good and worthy an errand I cannot but receive him as the minister of Christ and the messenger of his Church, and you may be assured that I shall improve my utmost interest for the preservation of the rights of your church, and shall do what I can for that afflicted country, which I have great reason to love and be tender of, having experienced so much kindness from you. I doubt not but you will have a further account from Mr. Sharpe of my great affections to serve you, and that it shall be my care to endeavour that the Gospel ordinances and privileges of God's people may be established both here and there with you. I do desire your prayers to God for His blessing upon our counsels and undertakings, and entreat you that you would be pleased to promote the peace and settlement of these

nations, and in what you may quiet and compose men's spirits that we may, waiting with patience, reap the fruit of our hopes and prayers. I have no further but to beg of God the increase of Divine blessings upon your labours, and that you may be kept by His power as glorious instruments in His work." *Draft.*

SIR CHARLES COOTE and the COUNCIL OF OFFICERS to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 16. Dublin—After we had with much long suffering and patience endured all imaginable miseries and all those brought upon us—next our sins—by occasion of the unparalleled interruption given to the freedom and liberty of Parliament by their own waged servants, the army in England, in December 1648, when they forcibly excluded about the one half of the members of Parliament, we hoped that when the remaining members were once set free from force, they would then assert and restore the privileges of Parliament and liberties of the people in re-admitting those so illegally and forcibly excluded members and fill the vacant places, and so unite in a full and free Parliament and settle the peace of the nations. But when by an extraordinary providence they were set free from force—wherein you have the high honour to have been eminently instrumental—we find, much contrary to our just expectations, that they have not only denied readmittance to those excluded members, but have also voted that they shall not be chosen in any further elections during this Parliament, although these eleven years past that they have stood excluded there hath not been any charge exhibited against them, and although others who are of fanatic principles, against whom impeachments of high treason are exhibited to those remaining members of Parliament, are admitted to sit. We therefore cannot but behold our miseries and the miseries of the three nations, so far from being near an end as there are new grounds laid for the continuance and increase of their bondage, and thence it is that we, the Council of Officers of the army in Ireland, in discharge of our duties to God and the three nations, have resolved to put our lives in our hands, joined in a declaration, which we have caused to be imprinted and published and have therein the general concurrence of the army and nation, a printed copy whereof we herewith humbly offer to your Excellency; and whatsoever our enemies may say of us, yet we trust your Lordship will believe—to whom we profess it with the candour and clearness of honest men—that our only ends therein are the same which we mentioned in our declaration of the fourteenth of December last, wherein we declared for adhering to the Parliament in defence of its privileges and the just rights and liberties of the people of these nations, which we now clearly see to our great grief are apparently violated by some remaining members now sitting at Westminster.



We must observe to you that Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel John Warren, Lieutenant-Colonel Puckle and Lieutenant-Colonel Flower—who was Lieutenant-Colonel to General Fleetwood's regiment of foot—by combination with the soldiers within the Castle of Dublin, then particularly under the said Colonel Warren's charge, on Wednesday, the 15th of this month, treacherously surprised the said castle and became possessed thereof, whereupon we did all then instantly put ourselves into a defensive and offensive posture, and are so confident of our being able to undeceive the soldiers whom they seduced, as we are well assured that they will suddenly deliver up to us that castle, with Sir Hardress Waller and the rest of his adherents that seduced them. Our prayers to Almighty God are to give such an issue to the present miseries of these nations as may be for the preservation of the Protestant religion and the happiness of the nations, and that without the effusion of Christian blood, wherein we beseech—and doubt not—your Lordship's concurrence with us, as that which will be acceptable to God and well pleasing to all good men and particularly to us." Thirty-one signatures.

*Postscript.*—February 18. "The packet with which the above letter was to be sent you not being yet gone, we can now tell you—thanks be to God—this day, about one of the clock in the afternoon, the soldiers which were within the Castle of Dublin, being fully satisfied in our declaration, rendered up to us the said castle, with Sir Hardress Waller and the other officers with him named in our letter, and so we are now possessed thereof and Sir Hardress Waller and the said officers are our prisoners." *Seal of arms.*

#### COLONEL C. FAIRFAX TO GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 18. York—"Your Excellency's late letter of the 11th of this instant directed to the Speaker is here received with so general an applause—both in city and county—that I hope they will not only pay their assessments but be of peaceable demeanour, though this shall not make us a jot less vigilant. . . . The letter we have reprinted here to be dispersed into the county, and have sent eighty copies after Major-General Morgan—who went yesterday towards Scotland. Colonel Smithson's gone home to the burial of a child, but will return upon Monday, and Colonel Bethell—very ill of a cold—will make a short stay at home, taking view of some of his troops by the way. Captain Nordhend [Northend]—Governor of Scarborough—came hither yesternight and goes back this morning. He gives this account of his charge; that his men are faithful, but in great want of pay. They have thirty-eight double barrels of powder—most for great shot—four hundred and fifty serviceable pikes, a like number of muskets with firelocks, fourteen kegs of musket ball, and some shot for demi cannon. Your Excellency's

great care for the support of all armies under your command is known to be such that, were it not to satisfy importunities of others, I durst not offer it [*sic*]. Colonel Bethell complains for his regiment, and I shall put in a word for my own, yet hope to make shift for a few weeks' time. Officers need[ed] in all vacant commands to head troops and companies. I desire that Captain White—now major to Colonel [*torn*] may account with his company, and that, upon removal of Captain Greene, Lieutenant Thomas Ambler may succeed—if your Excellency please—being a very good soldier and well loved of his company; and in the other Captain's place I shall move for no relation further than the merit of him recommended may prevail for acceptance. Colonel Lilburne—whom the Major-General acquainted with your pleasure—intends to remove with his family into the south. Lieutenant Rich. Baily—by your Lordship appointed Postmaster at Tadcaster—has a competitor for his place and fears a removal; having been at great charge in taking a house and laying in provisions, [he] petitions continuance or re-admittance into the army. Inch\* I have discharged—hearing nothing from his masters to continue his restraint—yet keep some of his papers that I may have him forthcoming or give them some knowledge of his other accounts.”  
*Damaged. Seal with arms.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATRICK BLAIR to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 18. John-a-Groats House—I am so far on my return to Orkney, Captain Watson—now when he can do no more—having eight days ago submitted and accepted of the Act of Indemnity. I shall not trouble your Excellency further concerning his actions since the interruption of Parliament, and although he has within these three years banished me out of Orkney by his boundless malice, I desire nothing to his prejudice, only begging you to send one in his room of better principles and more peaceable spirit. The fountain whence his malice against me flowed was my saying he would own another interest than your Lordship did if he had occasion, which he hath now verified.

GENERAL MONK to LORD FAIRFAX and the Gentlemen of Yorkshire.

1659[-60], February 18. Drapers' Hall—“I have received your letter and therewithal a declaration subscribed with the hands of many noble and worthy persons, and affirmed by you to be the sense of the whole county and city of York. [*See Cal. of S.P. Dom. for 1659, 1660, p. 356.*] All that I am able to return you in answer thereunto is to acquaint you that the House hath condescended that their numbers shall be filled up, and that all the writs shall issue forth to-morrow, and that there will be no such qualifications—as I am informed—as

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\* See Cal. S.P. Dom., 1659, 1660, pp. 352, 368.

may hinder the secluded members from being chosen again if the countries shall think fit to elect them. This though it be not absolutely and exactly that which you propound is yet so near it that I cannot but have good hope it may give you satisfaction, and so much the rather because I find your desires not to be peremptory but alternative, and conclude from thence that though a third expedient be pitched upon as the most effectual for satisfying all parties, yet seeing it is such as answers your main end of having your representatives in the House, and doth not so restrain you with qualifications but that you may have the liberty to elect those men whom you would have now to return to their trust upon their former elections, that it is the implicit and virtual sense of your own declarations, and that it was rather forgotten to be expressed than purposely left out. And if in any small matters I should be mistaken in my opinion or you in your expectation, I make it my request to you that you would not for small matters run the hazard of that confusion which you seem, and have indeed just reason to fear, and you may assure yourselves that I shall at all times in my station further your just desires." *Draft.*

SIR THEO. JONES to GENERAL MONK, in London.

1659[-60], February 19. Dublin—"The enclosed declaration is what is generally and unanimously owned here by the army and others—some few excepted of contrary principles and seeking themselves rather than the good and peace of the nations.

We had not thus anticipated your Excellency in this our declaring—not having first therein advised with your Excellency—but that we were thereunto enforced by a design laid by Sir Hardress Waller and his party for seizing Sir Charles Coote, myself and others on Wednesday last, the 15th instant, which being discovered on the very point of time wherein it should have been acted, Sir Hardress Waller with others did thereupon shut themselves up in the Castle of Dublin, they being conscious to themselves of their own guilt and fearing advantage might have been otherwise taken against them. They were shut up until Saturday, and then the place was delivered into our hands and is kept for the Parliament, Sir Hardress Waller himself being prisoner.

That his design for seizing Sir Charles Coote, &c., was by him grounded on a letter from your Excellency, wherein was recommended to him the care of preventing—as he said—our declaring for a free Parliament, this by him so high strained and so prosecuted might have been of more dangerous consequence than—by the blessing of God—it hath proved, for all was on our part done without tumult or blood. We desire your Lordship's candid constructions in these things, there being therein nothing intended but what is clearly expressed in our said declaration, this being also in pursuance of what had been by us formerly declared—the freeing the Parliament from

force—which is we doubt not what is intended by your Excellency and what is expected from you by the good people of these nations, whose eyes are on you as a great and glorious instrument in the Lord's hand for a general good. Therein your Excellency cannot but expect a blessing from heaven and an universal concurrence throughout the three nations, we being here ready to attend your Excellency's commands in this cause with five thousand men or more if necessary." *Seal of arms.*

[GENERAL MONK] to the LORD MAYOR.

1659[-60], February 21—"Being necessitated for despatch of some important affairs to withdraw both myself and forces for some time to St. James's and the parts adjacent, I do hereby seriously commend to your care the peace and safety of this great city. I shall leave behind me the usual guards, but if any disturbance should arise in any part of it, you shall be supplied with more. Meantime you may please to give directions to the constables within their respective precincts that, if they be at any time molested, they shall call to the neighbourhood to assist them with what arms they have for preservation of the peace and safety of this place. And as for your Common Council and militia and prisoners, I shall, I hope, take that timely care therein as shall render you all fully satisfied." *Draft.*

[The SAME] to the SAME.

Same date. Whitehall—I find that there will be present need of money both for the sea and land forces, and having had experience of your good affection, I beg you to convene the Court of Aldermen and represent to them the great necessity. If they will advance 140,000*l.* with speed they shall be repaid from the first money arising out of the assessments. *Draft.*

MAJOR ROBERT BEAKE to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 22. Coventry—Reporting the seizure of arms and ammunition on their way through that city.

CITY OF LONDON.

1659[-60], February 23—The names of the Commissioners for the Militia for the City of London, approved by Parliament. [*Printed in Commons' Journals, Vol. VII., p. 850.*]

CHESHIRE.

1659[-60], February 23—A list of persons in Cheshire and Chester who received commissions and acted in raising men and money against the authority of Parliament by order of the Committee of Safety and General Fleetwood, viz.—

Colonel Henry Berkenhead, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert Gerrard, Major John Whitworth, Captains Robert Hyde, William Cohen, Thomas Hartington, Jonathan Ridge, John Trevers and Carter, "a Quaker, hath a troop of horse yet in arms," Thomas Ball, Lieutenant Hitchins and Ensign Hewet; also Samuel Buck and Mark Gellico, and Captain Andrews and Captain Nichols of Colonel Biscoe's regiment. *Signed by Captain Joseph Witter.*

#### CUMBERLAND.

1659[-60], February 23—Information against Thomas Langhorne, John Hudson, Gawen Wrenne and John Robertson, late Commissioners for the Militia, who exercised their authority contrary to the trust reposed in them by Parliament by unjust impositions, by Colonel Lambert's order. *Copy.*

QUARTER-MASTER HUMPHREY WARREN to GENERAL MONK, at Whitehall.

1659[-60], February 24. Bury St. Edmund's— . . .  
 "I am very little privy to the carriage of things amongst the officers, but thus much I can assure you, that there is great dissatisfaction touching your present undertakings, and endeavours used to make the soldiers believe that the Parliament intends to bring in Charles Stuart. My Lord, I can perceive nothing but an intended opposition against your honour and the Parliament, the certainty of which I shall ere long be able to give you a better account of, for to-morrow my Colonel [Colonel Rich], who is here present, intends to draw his regiment to a rendezvous, and some of the foot in this country. Whether it be by your honour's appointment or no I know not, nor where the place of rendezvous will be I cannot certainly tell, but so far as I am informed it will be betwixt this place and Beckles."

LUKE ROBINSON to GENERAL MONK.

[16]59[-60], February 24. Westminster—Recommending Captain Edward Todd to be cornet to Major Strangways, in the place of Mr. Arthur, who has declined the appointment.

WILLIAM STRODE to the MAYOR AND BURGESSES of Taunton.

1659[-60], February 24. Barrington—Being informed that Mr. Ceely, Mr. Bovett and Mr. Sampson are now in your town levying money and raising and quartering soldiers, "imprisoning and securing divers of the free subjects of England, pretending an authority from the few members late sitting at [Westminster] and calling themselves a Parliament—which too

long by force and guile tyrannized over the people and Parliament of England—all which actings and every of them are by the laws of England high treason, as in Strafford's case and others," I therefore certify you that on Tuesday morning last the old members of Parliament returned to the House and made several votes for the settlement of the government of the three nations. As a member of that good old Parliament, I desire you to hinder any persons acting in the above unjust ways and to secure their persons.

COLONEL RICHARD BOVETT to GENERAL MONK, at Whitehall.

1659[-60], February 25—In pursuance of the order received from yourself, Sir Arthur Hesilrige and Colonel Morley, I give you an account of my proceedings since arriving in this country. I drew out part of my regiment towards Bristol, leaving the rest at Bridgwater, Taunton and Wellington, "but receiving notice from Colonel Okey of some insurrection ready to break forth in Wiltshire, I marched that party unto Brewton, where they now lie quartered, but both them and the other in a necessitous condition." The two months' pay due to them is not likely to be raised by the Act for settling the militia, that being nearly expired and the Commissioners meeting with much obstruction. "The Commissioners for the assessment being summoned to meet Tuesday last [at Somerton] there appeared but six Commissioners, of whom Colonel Strode's son [William Strode of Street, co. Somerset] was one, who there openly declared that it was treason to raise money by the authority of those members, that they were no Parliament, with more to that purpose, which language made null the meeting, none joining with me in the business. I held it my duty, as a servant to that authority, to secure the said Mr. Strode, who is now a prisoner in Taunton until I have order from the Parliament or your Excellency for his release. Indeed I must acknowledge I saw never a greater sadness on the spirits of those who have adhered to and adventured their all in the Parliament's service, nor a greater cheerfulness and height of spirit amongst the old enemy, grounded upon what hopes I know not, but I doubt not that God will prosper the work of the Commonwealth, for which you have so eminently declared." [*Compare letter of the Council of State in Cal. of S.P. Dom., under date March 1st of this year.*]

CHRISTOPHER CORNWELL to GENERAL MONK, in London.

1659[-60], February 25. Ipswich—Reporting the mutiny of certain troopers in Colonel Rich's regiment who are supposed to have ridden off to London to wait upon the General.

## COLONEL CHARLES FAIRFAX TO GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 25. York—"Many thousands of God's people will bless our good God for so happy a balance as your Excellency appears in these unsteady times. Indeed we want words to make out our affections to you and our deep resentment of the horrid reports we had lately here in reference to your person. We knew you are under a safe protection, yet cannot but fear the designs of assassins, you being eyed as the great *remora* in their way to hinder our clashing and breaking one against another to do their work." The receivers general for the Exchequer received a letter from the Council of State to procure 1,500*l.* for Colonel Clarke's regiment. They intend to petition for an Act of Indemnity for any payments made, but "they cannot expect any stamp of allowance as to any moneys paid by late irregular orders from the pretended Council of Safety inclosed in letters to them from Major-General Lambert." *Seal of arms.*

## CAPTAIN W. RICHARDSON TO GENERAL MONK, at Whitehall.

1659[-60], February 25. Durham—"I humbly make bold to acquaint your Lordship with a passage which happened in this city this night. About seven of the clock several bonfires were made and people gathering very fast together into the market-place, and at one tavern, where several Cavaliers were drinking, sack and beer were sent forth to the multitude, and some of my soldiers were desired by the gentlemen to drink the King's health. At length some of the rabble began to cry for a King and a free Parliament and in that humour were going to ring their bells, which being intimated unto me by my officers and many of my soldiers, I went to the Mayor of the town and desired to know what meant that concourse of people and bonfires and ranting at that time of night in the town. He told me he knew not, neither was it in his power to quell them; the truth is he is an Anabaptist, and they do condemn him on that score and set a fire at his door. At length, seeing them so high, I called my company together, not seeing one amongst them but Cavaliers and very many being now in town, I dispersed the multitude to their several houses and drew my company to the Tolbooth, where I keep guard and shall continue a strict guard until Captain Hartstaffe's company come in, who lie but seven miles from the town, for whom I have sent. What their grounds are I know not, but they are very high and talk that now they shall have a King; their game is a-playing. I shall endeavour to my utmost to preserve the peace in this place and question not, after the drink is forth of their heads—for the greatest part of them are drunk—they will bethink themselves of a more peaceable comportment.

## COLONEL JOHN OKEY to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 25. Bristol—"I thought it my duty to let you know that in pursuance of an order from the Council of State concerning an intended insurrection of the common enemy, I did draw the forces together for the prevention of it, and do find at present they have laid it aside. We should have been ready through the blessing of God for them in case they had stirred, having had notice of it three days before the Council's letter came to my hands. We are here pretty quiet—blessed be God. I hear the secluded members do sit in the House. I hope it may be a means, through the blessing of God, to continue peace and quietness amongst us. The forces here have been drawn together, to whom your letter has been communicated, to which there is a general concurrence of the officers. I am now going towards Gloucester, and from thence intend to meet the officers of my regiment and shall suddenly give your honour an account, which I hope shall be what becomes Christians and soldiers." *Seal with arms and crest.*

## COLONEL JAMES REDMAN and others to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 25. Chester—Expressing their approval of the action of General Monk and the officers in re-admitting the secluded members to Parliament. *Nine signatures. Seal with arms and crest.*

## RICHARD ELSWORTH to GENERAL MONK, in London.

1659[-60], February 25. Bristol—"On the beholding and serious consideration of the present face and state of affairs in this city, carried on and managed in private and underhand by the Mayor thereof and his cabinet fanatic council—Alderman Yeates, Mr. Robert Aldworth, the town clerk, Mr. Jeremiah Holloway, Mr. Philip Dorny, Mr. Nehemiah Collins, Mr. Harper—and in public by Colonel Okey and the Anabaptistical party therein, backed by two troops of horse and about six companies of foot, I am invited—out of my tenderest affections unto your Excellency and the security, peace, and welfare of this nation, this city, and adjacent counties especially, whereof you are Commander-in-Chief—to prostrate before your wisdom this account of their said transactings, according to its appearance to the most discerning eyes. To wit that the parties aforesaid are highly discontented at the re-admission of the secluded members to sit in Parliament, so that the said Mayor yesterday much blamed and after a sort jeered Walter Sandy, Esquire and Alderman, for causing the bells of his parish to ring for joy of their re-admission as aforesaid, saying it was but as gilded brass, which expression beareth a twofold sense, either as to the tidings thereof or to the honourable heroes of this nation by God's mercy thus re-admitted. And as to his private



consultations, the more sober, judicious and moderate of the Aldermen—John Gunning, Joseph Jackson, Miles Jackson, — Batman, Arthur Farmer, Walter Sandy and George White, Esquires and Aldermen—and Common Council are exempted the same for unknown causes, unless it be because they disrelish and are active in proceedings against the Anabaptistical and fanatic party of this city aforesaid, so that the factious and most fanatic are now the only actors in the present scene thereof. The consequent of whose consultations may prove not a little dangerous to our peace, if not unto your Excellency and the peace of the nation, in case a seasonable prevention be not endeavoured to the now timely frustration of their design on foot, even almost at its birth, according to the expression of a soldier, that a few days since said how that within a fortnight our streets should run with blood, whereof the said Mayor—as it is reported—being acquainted, he suffered him to go unexamined as to what he meant or intended thereby. The truth is the most judicious, in inspection into transactions, do fear and suspect that the said Colonel designs, out of discontent, for to make this a garrison, in opposition to you and the now Parliament's commands, to the use of some grandees—of his judgment—now or lately in power [and] that Colonel Lambart shall be Commander-in-Chief of these and all the forces in the west, inasmuch as the said Colonel hath brought up certain quantities of powder by his agent, Mr. Showell—the collector of the customs. A view—as it is credibly spoken—hath been taken of the great fort now demolished; more horse and foot—as it is also spoken—are on their march hitherward, and that Colonel Lambart is to head them, and the soldiers give out in their common discourse that ere long the said Lambart shall be returned to his command, not doubting but to be hard enough for your Excellency, with many such like expressions, which bespeak their intentions to make a war with this Parliament before April next is expired. Besides, the Anabaptists and Quakers—as it is credibly spoken—have engrossed great quantities of arms into their custodies, and yet the said Mayor will not consent unto the aforesaid Alderman's proposal to disarm them.”

ROBERT ELLISON, Sheriff, to GENERAL MONK, in London.

1659[-60], February 27. Newcastle—You are much in the hearts of your friends here for the good you have already done. I have written to Colonel Birch and to Lord Widdrington concerning the militia for Durham and Newcastle, and one word from your Excellency will do the work. I hear from Durham “that some of your friends making bonfires on Saturday night, Captain Richardson, who commands the soldiers there, ordered the fires to be put out, and the soldiers, in doing of it, threw some of them into their shops, beat down several persons and hurt some, and dealt very unhandsomely with them. I do not hear of any cause given save the fires and that the people cried

out once or twice God save my Lord Monk and the Parliament." Captain Waller starts to-morrow with the officers' letter, and I have desired him to enquire into the business and report to you. I entreat your Lordship's interest for the guarding of these coasts, and that care may be taken of the trade to the Sound, as we hear that divers Ostenders are abroad and intend to lie upon the North Seas. If this House sit, I intend to come and take my place. If I be not already out of my sheriff's place, I entreat I may be eased, as it is a great charge, at least 350*l.* a year loss.

#### NORTH WALES.

1659[-60], February 27—All the garrisons in the counties of North Wales are in the hands of men of unsound and desperate principles and very active under the late Committee of Safety, to the great oppression of the country.

Denbigh Castle, a place of great strength, in the hands of Captain William Wynn, fitter to be demolished than to be kept up.

Red Castle in Montgomeryshire, in the hands of Captain Price, a place of no great strength, fit to be demolished.

Conway town and Castle, in the hands of Captain Prichard.

Carnarvon Castle, in the hands of Captain Lewis Price, strong built, but wants water.

The Isle of Anglesey and Castle of Beaumaris, in the hands of Colonel John Jones, a very considerable garrison in respect of Ireland and North Wales.

#### CAPTAIN THOMAS STEWART to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 27. Nottingham—Reporting a tumult which has taken place in the town under Lieutenant Broadhead, formerly in the Cavaliers' army in Newark, and relating that the crowd marched up and down with colours flying, crying out, "A King, a King." *Signed.*

#### QUARTER-MASTER HUMPHREY WARREN to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 27. Bury St. Edmond's—Reporting that General Monk's letter was read at the rendezvous by Colonel Rich, who declared "modestly and seriously" that he did not desire to persuade the soldiers to anything, but only to take the general sense of the regiment.

#### The SAME to the SAME.

1659[-60], February 28. Bury St. Edmond's—Since writing to you, I have had reason to fear that there is some design on foot, because, 1, none but despisers of dignities are in favour; 2, we have men sent up and down from place to place both

night and day, and none employed but such people; 3, the officer supposed to be sent up to you for further orders was never with you; and 4, it has become a criminal thing to plead for obedience to the commands of God. Many reproachful expressions were vented at the rendezvous against your Excellency, both by soldiers and officers.

#### GROCCERS' HALL.

1659[-60], February 28—A list of officers invited to Groccers' Hall on this date.

#### GARRISON OF HULL to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 28. Hull—"We are in this garrison very much startled by some intimation posted to us this post from the hands of divers of our friends of the army, who have a fairer inspection into the affairs of State than we can have at this distance, and so discontented with public transactions, as they say, to point at the ease of C. S[tuart's] ends, that they have declared their disconcurrence with present proceedings together with their resolutions of remaining faithful and constant to the cause of the Commonwealth. In question to that so oft abjured interest of a King, we confess we have not been without our fears and jealousies that your Lordship would not find it an expedient to a Commonwealth's settlement, which you had proposed in a declaration at the re-admission of the secluded members, so that what we feared seems now to fall out. We would hope that you would continue constant to what you have so positively declared in the presence of God against that interest, and therefore have judged it incumbent upon us to signify to you what is intimated us, and withal to assure you that we are resolved to live and die in adherence to that cause, which in some of your papers you have publicly owned with us and asserted to be the only end of all your late undertakings.

*Underwritten* :—Note by Colonel Fairfax. "Transcribed by Marshall at the command of Bell, his master, and by him dispersed amongst the soldiers, both of horse and foot, that now are quartered in the city of York."—C. F.

#### COLONEL NATHANIEL RICH to COLONEL INGOLDSBY.

1659[-60], February 28—The first news of your motion from London into these parts "did arrive with me by Captain Hopkins, at which I make no small wonder, since I am not conscious to myself of anything that merits from you or any with you or those from whom you come the comportment of an enemy. And though I may be reckoned one of them to whom this late change seems somewhat strange, yet what I have expressed by way of dissatisfaction never did amount to occasion any such

motion, as in my letter to General Monk is manifest." The mere rumour of our rendezvous "has been sufficient to beget you this trouble, though had those you came from had patience to have seen fact rather than have been led to this kind of management of affairs by bare suggestion, I believe the offence had not been taken."

Touching our rendezvous this day, it was occasioned by the tidings of your hostile march and posture, and lest ours that was open and friendly might tempt you to treat us as enemies. I desire therefore to hear "an express of what as yet I have but by rumour. If further 'tis life, liberty, horse, arms or other property you desire, 'tis possible they may be sold at as dear a rate as we can. But if nothing else but a second succession be your desire to one that hath had the honour of being twice your predecessor, your title by commission or order from any whom I am no more ambitious to serve than they are to trust, shall by the bearer be in no wise unwelcome."

MAJOR THOMAS IZARD to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1659[-60], February 29. Bristol—If there were anything strange at this day, I should wonder who told your Excellency that there was any fear of disturbance by Colonel Okey's means in these parts. It is true that when I first acquainted him with your letter he was somewhat disturbed, fearing that Charles Stewart would follow, but when he had considered, he said that if those things which you had declared for were made good he was satisfied. The next day he had letters from Vice-Admiral Lawson and others which gave him full satisfaction, since which he has acted very prudently. If otherwise, I should have done my utmost to prevent him, "for I as much fear this fanatic generation—which I suppose you expect trouble from—as I do the Cavaliers," and shall watch them both. I hope the business of Colonel Rich will come to nothing. I think he and his major are two as dangerous persons as any in this army.

RICHARD ELLSWORTH to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1659[-60], February 29. Bristol—In my last I told you that the most judicious of this city believed that Colonel Okey designed to garrison it, in opposition to the commands of Parliament and your Excellency. I have now to inform you that the said Colonel—being convinced of the injustice of his proceedings towards those merchants here who had declared for the re-admission of the secluded members of Parliament—did on Monday last, before departing hence, desire a conference with the said gentlemen, and acknowledged that he was persuaded to proceed against them by the fanatic party, but that "the mis-givings of his spirit for that his carriage to them-ward had given him an invitation to decline his intended journey

that day, on the Christian account of a desired reconciliation." He also solemnly averred to Mr. Jones—a reverend divine of this city—that he would not only willingly "acquiesce under" this present government, but would do what in him lay to win his officers and soldiers to the like acquiescence. Whereby the Colonel has regained and heightened his esteem with the moderate party of the city, "and was by them yesterday brought several miles on his journey towards Gloucester, &c., not one of the said factious, fanatic party then him accompanying, as aforesaid, to the dissipation of that black cloud we lately feared would break over this place." *Seal of arms.*

MAJOR JEREMIAH TOLHURST to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], February 29. Carlisle—I communicated your letter of the 21st instant to the officers and soldiers here, and I find it to be very well pleasing except to two officers, Captain Studholme and Lieutenant Scott, who are citizens, and who, although they will not declare their dislike, desire to delay to declare their acquiescence in that proceeding, expecting to hear of strong opposition made in some part of the nation by the men who sat before the secluded members came in. I shall be very vigilant to secure this garrison and the country for the service of the present Parliament, for whom I first took up arms, and I shall send a list of officers of these companies for whose fidelity I dare engage. "All men in these northern parts, except Anabaptists, Independents and Quakers, are well pleased, and I believe you will find that party averse everywhere." I am sorry to say so, for I bear special respect to some of them. *Seal of arms.*

COLONEL RICHARD INGOLDSBY to GENERAL MONK.

[16]59[-60], February 29. Newmarket—This morning on our march "intelligence multiplied upon us out of Norfolk and Suffolk that the sectarians of those parts had made a combination amongst themselves to assist Rich with thirty troops of horses which they would raise out of collections from their several churches, that they had proceeded to the listing of some men, and to the promising of great matters to divers militia troops of Norfolk. We found that Rich had got five troops to rendezvous on Saturday. With what pretences he excuses it we may perceive by his letter to your Excellency, a copy of which he sent me, wherein, give me leave to observe, he waives the owning that authority and command which the Parliament hath so justly given you." Notwithstanding his pretences he rendezvoused the five troops again yesterday. His design looks to be that the foot soldiers at Colchester might join with them. "I find he marched directly towards Colchester from his rendezvous near Bury, and marched yesterday as far as Melford towards Sudbury, but finding his men not so willing to follow him as

he hoped, he sent to me this evening a kind of submissive message by Captain Hopkins [*see p. 163 above*], who I commanded not to let any of his troop stir out of their quarters, which he obeyed and is the only troop that came not to any rendezvous, and though Rich and Breman have carried the standards of the troops with them, yet at least four score of the soldiers are come off and stop at Bury for my orders, and those with them have sent to me that they will obey me, which caused me to send orders to Rich and Breman to meet me with the five troops" to-morrow at Bury, and if they will not come that the soldiers bring their officers prisoners with them. Rich's object seems to be to gain time.

*Postscript.*—I have heard on the way that Lambert, Fleetwood, Kelsey, Eliston [*? Ellatson*] and others have been very busy about Newmarket, Cambridge and Royston.

#### LONDON MILITIA.

1659[-60], February—"A list of persons in the militia of the city of London, prepared by the Council of State to be presented to Parliament. Characterized as followeth:—

Thomas Allen.	Lord Mayor.
Isaac Pennington.	
Philip Skippon, Esquire.	
Alderman Atkins.	Excise Commissioner under the Committee of Safety.
Alderman Foote.	
Alderman Dethicke.	
Alderman Milner.	
Alderman Thompson.	
Alderman Love.	Congregational.
Alderman Warner.	Congregational.
Alderman Backwell.	
Slingsby Bethell, Esquire.	Disaffected to General Monck.
Nich. Gould, Esquire.	
Col. John Okey.	
Col. Owen Rowe.	Beat up his drums under Committee of Safety.
Praise-God Barebone.	A venomous petitioner.
Henry Brandrith.	A member of the Committee of Safety, and spoke in Common Council against the General's letter.
John Jackson.	A seeker, lay preacher, Excise-man.
Humphrey Cliffe, Deputy.	Against the General's letter.
Capt. John Marriott.	Against the General's letter.
William Jolly, Deputy.	A Captain entrusted under the Committee of Safety.

Lieut.-Col. Charles Doyly.

Major Randall.

Col. John Owen.

Col. William Webb.

Capt. Robert Walton.

Thomas Benson.

Hugh Mason.

Capt. William Meade.

Samuel Boulstrode.

Capt. Nicholas Roberts.

Edward Bushell.

Capt. John Meadows.

Mr. John Barrondell.

Mr. — Dennis.

Major Robert Russell.

Deputy Camfeild.

William Allen.

Capt. Thomas Owen.

Capt. Stephen Henbury.

Thomas Arnold, Esquire.

Robert Cardwell.

Richard Baker.

Thomas Plampin.

Joseph Houlden.

Capt. Edward Story.

Abraham Babington.

James Hayes.

Richard Arnold.

John Lawson.

William Harrington.

Col. John White.

George Foxcroft.

William Pennoyer, Esquire.

Mr. Ross.

Col. Gower.

Thomas Lenthall.

Isaac Foster, Esquire.

Independent and deputed a Commissioner by the Committee of Safety.

The same with Doyly.

The same with Doyly and Randall.

Never acts in city affairs.

Appointed Captain by the Committee of Safety.

Anabaptist and horse captain under the Committee of Safety. Fanatic.

A captain of horse under the Committee of Safety. Fanatic.

Appointed Commissioner by the Committee of Safety and opposer of reading the General's letter. Appointed Commissioner by the Committee of Safety and an active person.

A grand Sectary.

Fanatic.

Excise Commissioner under Committee of Safety.

Fanatic.

Fanatic.

A Congregational man.

Fanatic.

Commissioner of the Customs under Committee of Safety.

Had command under the Committee of Safety, and a man of strange opinions.

For toleration of opinions.

A Congregational mean person.

Appointed Commissioner under the Committee of Safety.

Capt. Henry Fendall.

Robert Davies.

Thomas Parris.

Richard Moore.

Major John Greene.

James Cox.

John Cade.

John Lockey.

Edward Turner.

Edmond White.

Humphrey Davy.

Samuel Emms.

Robert Winch.

Robert Ingram.

John Brett.

Joshua Pordage.

Jacob Willett.

Henry Cole.

Anthony Selby.

Laurence Saunders.

Joshua Woolnoth.

Henry Creech.

Capt. Edward Greene.

Capt. Bolt.

Richard Wareing.

Rowland Hill.

Theophilus Biddulph.

Christopher Willoughby.

Nicholas Caplin.

Josiah Pimate.

Thomas Barnardiston.

Ed. Saunders.

William Mullins.

James Wainwright.

William Medlicott.

A Commander under the Committee of Safety.

A dangerous Sectary.

A time server.

A time server.

A promoter of Barebone's petition.

A fanatic.

Captain under the Committee of Safety.

An Anabaptist.

Fanatic.

Fanatic.

A pernicious Sectary.

A dangerous Sectary.

Fanatic.

Captain under the Committee of Safety.

Captain under the Committee of Safety.

Captain under the Committee of Safety.

A Fifth monarchy man.

Fanatic.

Fanatic and Barebone's associate.

Employed by the Committee of Safety.

#### COLONEL NATHANIEL RICH.

1659[-60], February—Articles exhibited against Colonel Rich, stating that he appointed four agitators from each troop in his regiment to represent grievances, who at one of their meetings produced propositions to be presented to Parliament; that he endeavoured to introduce into his regiment men of dangerous principles, as Quakers and the like, discountenancing old and faithful soldiers and preferring the agitators; that those who



were ready to "engage us into blood against Portsmouth" are still in the regiment; that he acquitted John Webb, who was proved to have wished to have a blow at General Monk's head, accounting him the cause of all disturbances, and also John Downes, who, seeing a red hot iron in the fire, wished it were in General Monk's body; that during the last interruption of Parliament he was often at the meeting of the General Council of Officers at Wallingford House, and there declared all Mayors and Corporations to be the props of tyranny and monarchy, evidently judging it "both lawful and expedient to break all civil authority to make way for the Fifth Monarchy," and urging the insertion—in the instructions from the Council of Officers to the pretended Committee of Safety—of an order to take special care in re-modelling the government that all Corporations in England be thrown down and disfranchised; that he declared that God had laid the Parliament aside because of its severe sentence against Major-General Harrison, and that if they should now restore the Parliament they had dissolved it would be the most absolute tyranny in the world; that he had been an abettor to Cavaliers and sometimes denied his own orders performed in the State's service; and lastly that he had counterfeited Captain French's hand for his own advantage.

P[ETER] C[ORNELIUS] V[AN] Z[URUCK-SEE] to GENERAL MONK.

1659-60, February—Exhorting him to stand unmoveable in the centre to keep the balance in the government, that one sect may not domineer over the other, lest England should become like Holland, Denmark, Spain and other countries, where they honour Calvin, Luther and the Pope more than the Holy Scriptures.

#### THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

1659[-60], March 3—Order that Sir John Temple, Colonel Birch, Mr. Trevor and Mr. Weaver should confer with the Generals at land and sea and the Committees for the Army and Admiralty to consider about the debt and revenue. *Signed by John Rushworth, as Clerk of the Council.*

#### DEVONSHIRE MILITIA.

1659[-60], March 3—A list of Commissioners for the Militia of Devonshire, including the names of Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Thomas Powell, Sir John Trevor, Sir William Meredith, Sir John Carter and twenty-one others. *Copy.*

#### FLINTSHIRE MILITIA.

Same date—A like list for Flintshire, including the names of Lord Glynne, Sir John Trevor, Henry Conway, Roger Grosvenor and nineteen others. *Copy.*

## MONMOUTHSHIRE MILITIA.

1659[-60], March 5—A list of officers for the militia in Monmouthshire, recommended to General Monk. Includes the names of Sir Trevor Williams, Colonel, Charles Vann, Lieutenant-Colonel, and nineteen others. *Copy.*

## GLAMORGANSHIRE MILITIA.

1659[-60], March 6—A like list for Glamorganshire. Includes the names of Colonel Bussey Mansell, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Matthews and seventeen others. *Copy.*

## MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT OVERTON to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], March 6. Hull—"Myself and officers having lately signified to your Lordship how that some public proceeds concurring with the general noise of the nation for a King did so surprise and startle us that we judged it very incumbent upon us to corroborate your resolutions of prosecuting the cause of a Commonwealth by adding the testimony of our adherence to you therein, I have thought it now necessary to give you an account of our after proceeds, which may possibly be misrepresented to you. Upon the dispatch of that letter to your Lordship, we wrote to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell and Colonel Smythson at York, representing to them what was reported to us and in order to the begetting of a good understanding between us and those forces, that upon occasion of any such design we might be capacitated to be communicative to each other for those ends whereunto they and we together with your Lordship and the whole army are mutually engaged both by former and later declarations, we desired them to correspond with us. But either upon some misunderstanding of us, misbehaviour of the messenger, or some misinformation or other, the person by whom we sent the letter is secured. We have since that—upon a negative passing the House which seemed to encourage the expectation of monarchy—had some conference about a declaration for a Commonwealth, in opposition to a King, single person and House of Lords, consentaneous with what the whole army have engaged, which I thought to have transmitted to your Lordship by an officer, in order to your approbation and for the strengthening of your hands against those attempts which might have been made to the contrary, but finding that the army are unanimously resolved to adhere to you in the defence of what they have declared for, we have dissolved that our intention into an acquiescence with those hopes we have that your integrity hath so armed you against any such influence that those assays will prove abortive in the birth. The most of the soldiery of this garrison are so much in arrear and so greatly indebted, both to the town and their officers, that I am afraid very great disturbances will attend the admission of those who are commissioned to succeed

them, some of whom will no sooner be dismissed their places but they will be disposed of into prisons to their ruin, having overrun their own abilities to answer the soldiers' necessities and to preserve them in peace. I shall therefore humbly desire that—as you were pleased very honourably to practise in Scotland—no new officers may be imposed upon us here till the arrears of the old are so cleared and such provision made for part at least of the soldiers' arrears as may reimburse what they have expended in the discharge of their entrustments. I have been forced for present supplies to prohibit the return of the excise and customs of this place, which shall be reimbursed as pay is received, and in order to the gathering up of some arrears of excise—there being no other horse here—I was necessitated to call in a part of a militia troop, which upon information of a resolve of Parliament for their disbanding, which I knew not of before, I have since dismissed. I hope when your Lordship hath examined that letter which came to me from the late Council of State, with my return thereunto—copies of which I have enclosed to Colonel Allured to present to you—your Lordship will not find cause to continue me under any misprision in that matter, for as the Council seem to represent you very fairly in that proceed, from whom the old enemy caught at an advantage to blow up their expectations into bonfires and other rantings and revellings, so I understood them aiming at no other end than to possess your friends with a right understanding of you in that application to the Parliament, concerning which I could not resolve myself into any certainty when I wrote to them, whether that address was really yours or pretendedly published by some pamphleteer. I am informed that my cousin Overton hath, upon my desiring of him to forbear taking the charge of that company committed to him till I had written to your Lordship, suggested very false things against me in the town—which I can easily disprove by those who were present—and may, I suppose, therein misrepresent me to your Lordship, but I shall desire—from that respect which old friendship may claim—that you will not give credit to what he may inform till your Lordship do better understand his temper and the truth of what he may allege. I have, my Lord, upon every occasion so sufficiently signified my adherence to the cause of a Commonwealth in opposition to a King, single person or House of Lords or any other arbitrary Government . . . that I hope you will place no other than an honourable estimate of me in what I profess and practise to those ends."

*Postscript.*—"It is confidently averred to me this day by a considerable person that it is the common boast of the Cavaliers in Lincolnshire that it shall not be long before they drink healths in the Roundheads' blood. Now, my Lord, upon sight and hearing of much of this import we cannot be blamed for being more than ordinary watchful and resolved against that interest."

WILLIAM, LORD LOCKHART, to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], March 8. London—Recommending Dr. Dun, who has lived in France and studied physic with great proficiency. [*Sir William or Lord Lockhart was at this time Governor of Dunkirk, but had come over to London for a few days. See Cal. of S.P. Dom., 1659-1660, p. 344.*]

LORD ANCRAM to ARTHUR ANNESLEY, Lord President of the Council.

1660, April 1. Kew—I am told by some of the chief men of Richmond that the town is in a disturbed state. Horsemen have been seen to ride through it at night, Cornelius Holland, Sir Arthur Hesilrige and Colonel Sydenham have lately been there, and gunpowder and arms have been brought in. There is great apprehension that a rising is intended by the fanatics and discontented, who abound in those parts. To-morrow is a general meeting of the Commissioners of the County Militia at Kingston, and Wednesday next is the meeting at Guildford for choosing our knights of the shire. If any rising be intended, it will most likely be there. I beg that you will send a troop of horse to search suspected places in Richmond and to keep guard at Kingston and at Guildford.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NICHOLAS ANDREWS to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 2. Canterbury—Acknowledging receipt of the proclamation of the Council of State and of the General's letter, which has been read to and received with satisfaction by the regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM STYLE to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1660, April 4. Yarmouth—Complaining that officers and soldiers are being threatened by the magistrates for the prosecution of their duties.

WILLIAM, LORD LOCKHART, to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 9-19. Dunkirk—I enclose copies of depositions taken in the cases of my trumpeter and others who have entered into clandestine practices. I received a letter from Lord Goring—called Earl of Norwich—dated at Bruges in Flanders, asking for a pass to come to Dunkirk and stay there until he should receive another from your Excellency for his return to England, which he says he hears you have granted him. My answer was that it would not be convenient either for him or me for him to come here until he had received your pass, but that, after its receipt, if he would be pleased to take this town in his way, he should find all respect and accommodation possible. *Signed. Depositions enclosed.*

CAPTAIN RICHARD LYONS to [GENERAL MONK].

1660, April 10—Asking to be continued as Governor of Cowes Castle.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS KELLY to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 12. Leith—An address lately came here to be signed by the officers, "which was somewhat scrupled at by some in regard it wanted your Excellency's authority," but after the address was several times read and debated it was signed, as we had good assurances that though it came not directly from you yet we knew it was a thing which the army in England had done by your consent. Many objected that by signing "they should for ever bind their hands, and if the next Parliament would bring in Charles Stuart they were obliged to consent unto it. It was answered that we should not give rules to our superiors, but be subject unto the authority which was over us, and likewise that the disobeying of power has been an extraordinary means to unsettle the nations."

*Postscript.*—"The Scotch are very high and in great expectation of Charles the Second."

COLONEL NATHANIEL WHETHAM to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 12. Chard—Honest people are greatly discouraged by the confidence of the Cavaliers, who have chosen, as one of the knights of the shire, one whose father was in actual service for the King. Many "that upon the poll tendered their voices for an honest gentleman, were refused to have their names taken." If by your Excellency's means I might have been a member of Parliament, it might at this time have been more useful to me than ever, but I am resolved to submit to what you, the Council and the Parliament shall resolve. And if we must have a single person, I desire that the Parliament would pitch upon your Excellency, which is also the prayer of all good people that ever I speak with.

The VINTNERS' COMPANY to WILLIAM CLARKE and his wife.

1660, April 12—An invitation to dinner for this date.  
*Printed. Seal of arms.*

COLONEL JOHN MASON.

1660, April 12—Having received a commission from Parliament on June 28 last to be Governor of Jersey, he has been there ever since, has received but one month's pay, and has been at 200*l.* charges. On first going over, for divers good causes, he suspended several officers until the pleasure of Parliament could be known, and there being an absolute necessity

for their places to be supplied because of the danger threatening the island, certain others were appointed by order of Lord Fleetwood. He himself also sent over three soldiers, but neither soldiers nor officers have ever received more than one month's pay, and that only since their return to England, so that during their stay in the island they were maintained by their colonel. Prays an order for their pay and his own.  
*[See page 146 above.]*

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE MILITIA IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE to  
 GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 12. Gloucester—Regretting that any misconduct in the county should occasion reflections on those in charge of the affairs thereof. *Signed by Lord Berkeley and eight others.*

THE MAGISTRATES OF DROITWICH to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 13. Droitwich—Regretting that his letter of April 5 had reached them too late. If it had come to hand one hour before the election of burgesses, they would most cheerfully have endeavoured to elect Doctor Walker. *Four signatures.*

COLONEL UNTON CROKE to GENERAL MONK, at St. James's.

1660, April 15—Though it be somewhat late, yet I hope this address of my regiment may arrive in time. I assure your Excellency "there are not a band of men in the army more solicitous—even covetous—to express our duty to your Excellency than we are," and as several tests have already been put on the officers of the army, so I wish you would encourage us "to make trial of every individual soldier under us, by which means we should find out some knaves who yet secretly lurk amongst us. . . . The news of Colonel Lambert's escape flew to my troops—as also the reward of 100*l.* to him who should seize him—on speedier wings than I could convey it, and they are all intent on their work and duty."

COLONEL S[AM.] CLARKE to [GENERAL MONK].

1660, April 16. Glasgow—Expressing his devotion to the General and the ensuing Parliament.

*Endorsed by William Clarke:—"Col. Clarke's gallant resolutions." Seal with crest.*

CORNET MATTHEW BOYNTON to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1660, April 16. Worcester—Concerning an expected attack upon the town by the fanatical party. *Seal of arms.*

The COMMISSIONERS OF EXCISE for Nottinghamshire to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 16. Nottingham—Informing him that both Mansfield and East Retford have refused to pay their taxes, and that the latter town has behaved in a tumultuous manner; also asking him to send orders for the disarmament of East Retford as an example to the whole county.

COLONEL HUGH BETHELL to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 17. York—Concerning a party from Captain Peverell's troop, who have marched into York, and of whom the most refractory have been secured.

COLONEL CHARLES FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1660, April 17. Hull—"As to quarters in private families—intimated in your last—you may please to be informed that whilst I was in York it was only done, upon my Lord Mayor's mediation with the citizens, by their own consent, not our compulsion. And as to those in the county, I gave order to the officers formerly in this garrison, in their several dispersions no otherwise to take it. I certified to your Excellency where each company was quartered, but failed in a like notice to the Quarter Master General, which was my error. Your Lordship having now placed my regiment in Hull, Scarborough and Clifford's Tower, will hear no complaints of that nature, for each pays for his bed what his landlord exacts. The Council's proclamation concerning arrears—which never could be questioned, your Lordship sitting at the helm—gives full security against false aspersions that any intrenchment is intended nor will such design now take any impression. And the fomenters of such jealousies—seeing the fruitless success—will in a little time weary themselves in hindering your settlement of the nation in peace. An ill requital of masters that advanced them, but it is Jeshuran like when full then to kick. My Major writes that the Council have allowed 500*l*. for this garrison. That monies—well husbanded by the survey of such as you shall send down for the work, for such are most satisfactory—will help towards the repairs for sufficiency, not for beauty. I wish we had a little in hand to go on with the platforms. I would not hinder the service by too high a certificate."

*Postscript.*—"Your Excellency will have from a better hand the news of the late disturbance in York. They talk of a party to head them this night, but Colonel Bethell went last night to the city and I hope did find all in a good composure. I hear thirty are secured in order to be sent up. If any of those turbulent spirits come amongst us we shall do the like. All our officers—the Major excepted and an Ensign, his son—are at our duties, this requiring our vigilancy."

## LORD LOCKHART to [GENERAL MONK].

1660, April 17-27. [Dunkirk]—I find that it will be well to draw up a testimony of our readiness to acquiesce in whatever is agreed upon by the approaching Parliament and make the officers sign it before I give them your Excellency's commission. I have of late observed some symptoms that might turn to some small distemper, but I shall answer for the fidelity of this garrison with my life. I have said nothing to the Council, and "pray that it may rest with your Excellency, who, as a common father, must be acquainted with the least weakness in any of your great and numerous family."

## MAJOR EDWARD HARLEY to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 18. Hereford—Colonel Butler, whose care is very vigilant, has lost divers of his men, who have slipped away this evening.

The place appointed for rendezvous, near Edgehill, makes me suspect a design upon Oxford, that place being a very proper situation to unite their forces.

## COLONEL JOHN STREATER to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 20. Northampton—I came here yesternight and found that part of my regiment hereabouts in good order. "I have and do devote myself wholly to your Lordship's commands and promise in the presence of God to stick close to you and your commands. Many there are that flatter your Excellency, for which they may expect of favour from you, that to my knowledge would not set to their helping hand when the Lambertonian and Wallingfordian interest was afloat." *Signed.*

## COLONEL HUGH BETHELL to [GENERAL MONK].

1660, April 20. York—"I hope my last concerning the carriage of the troop late Captain Peverell's of Colonel Smithson's regiment, came safe to your Excellency's hands, since which we have taken the examinations of several of them and find there hath been a design to divide and corrupt several others from their duty and obedience. We have secured divers of them and disarmed the rest until Colonel Smithson come, who, I suppose, hath or will give your Excellency an account thereof. Two of the agitators, viz., one Mathew Broadwith and George Byfield of the same troop, did escape before they were discovered. One Merrey, who was formerly Lieutenant to that troop—by these examinations herewith transmitted—seems to be chief agitator in this business. He is here in safe custody till your Excellency's pleasure be further known, we had him under examination, but he peremptorily refuseth to answer to any question. For the other two we shall do our utmost endeavours to apprehend them.



"I have drawn the whole regiment into this town for the security thereof and peace of the country, which I am persuaded they had a design to surprise.

"Major Waterhouse being, according to his order, marched for Scotland two days since, the Lord Mayor hath been active with considerable guards of the townsmen to assist us to prevent any attempt upon this place. Reports have been very various touching my Lord Lambert's being in these parts, as also of several other discontented persons, as by information appears. We have sent out parties for their discovery and apprehension, and in the securing of this place we hope their malice and design will be prevented. I received your Lordship's letter with your commands as to the address, which was performed by the non-commission officers and soldiers before your Excellency's came to my hands, excepting some very few which are dismissed. Upon my conference with the regiment I find them very conformable and obedient."

SIR JOHN NORWICH to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 21. Northampton—Informing him that Lambert was expected to lie the previous night at Welford, and that all the fanatical party in those parts is expected to rendezvous at Edgehill. *Signed.*

MAJOR JOHN BROWNE to GENERAL MONK.

[16]60, April 22. Reading—This day I received information from a trooper of Captain Hesilrige's that he was sent to Edgehill to discover what forces were got together there, and found only three hundred horse and about forty foot. Before he returned, Major Creed had sent three several messengers to the said troop to draw them off, which he effected through the folly of their Commander. I hear also that many of the troop are dissatisfied. I have had a letter from Captain Goddard's troop, which I send you. The former officers of our regiment have attempted every troop, but I will not forget my duty.

I hear that Major-General Lambert intended to march towards Naseby. The trooper told me that Colonels Okey and Cobbett, [Major] Creed, and Captains Spinage and Hunter were at Edgehill, but he saw not Lambert there.

COLONEL JOHN STREATER to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 23. Northampton—I doubt not that Lord Ingoldsby has already told you of the action near Daventry. The two companies, whereof my own was one, behaved with great resolution, which was an encouragement to the horse.

The company that I sent to Coventry also behaved gallantly, resisting the importunities of a troop of horse under my former Major, who met them on their march thither.

I have disbanded Colonel Twisleton's company and sent them to their homes, by advice of Lord Ingoldsby.

ROBERT ROLLE to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 23. Heaunton—Asking that Mr. Northcote may not be removed from the postmastership at Plymouth. *Signed. Seal of arms.*

THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE MILITIA in Derbyshire to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 23. Derby—Asking that they might have the assistance of Captain Greenwood in ordering the forces raised by them. *Seven signatures.*

MAJOR JOHN BRAMAN to [GENERAL MONK].

1660, April 24. Lambeth House—Complaining of his imprisonment, and asking that as he has been elected member for Stockbridge, the House may be moved to demand his release.

MAJOR GENERAL THOMAS MORGAN to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April [24]. Edinburgh—Having this day viewed an order from the Council of State for the release of Mr. Drywood, late deputy-treasurer of war, upon bond for his surrender at Wood Street Compter, I have given him a pass, and have in some measure examined the reasons of his long imprisonment. I believe him to be innocent, and my judgment is shared by several other officers of the army, wherefore I pray you to let him have a speedy hearing and if possible to readmit him to his former employment. *Signed.*

CAPTAIN WILLIAM NEWMAN to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 24. Edinburgh Castle—Having received an order from the Council of State for release of Mr. John Drywood—late deputy-treasurer of Scotland—upon his giving bond in 1,000*l.* to surrender at Wood Street Compter within 28 days, I shall do nothing more, but only tell your Excellency that Mr. Bilton, on his deathbed, said that Mr. Drywood was guilty of no wrong to the State. He has been all along an enemy to the fanatic party, and if you will employ him, many here will be very thankful. He will give you an ample account of persons and things at this place.

## H[UGH] PETERS to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 24—"I take it indeed as an act of much love and tenderness that your honour sent this bearer to see an old decrepit friend. The Lord God—who is able—requite all respects to his unworthy servants. Truly, my Lord, my weak head and crazy carcass puts me in mind of my great change, and therefore thank God that these twelve months—ever since the breach of Richard's Parliament—I have meddled with no public affairs more than the thoughts of mine own and others presented to yourself. I only wish that sobriety, and—above that—religion may prosper in the nation, and that our Government may look forward to heal, not backward to destroy; we have had too much of that. I have little news but that I am sensible of the sadness of thousands who are wise and discreet persons. And though, truly, I am not worth the minding any way, yet my hearty duty to your Excellency bids me say that since all Europe is in fear and shaken exceedingly, Geneva besieged—as I hear—and Orange demolished, Holland perplexed, the popish enemy triumphing everywhere, how glorious would it be if in your days the Protestant churches might be comforted, who hang so much upon England, witness Queen Elizabeth's time. But I forget myself and leave with my most hearty thanks and assuring you that I have no design nor business in this world but what you know; opinions and whims I loath, but am orthodox through mercy."

## SIR CHARLES COOTE to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1660, April 25. Dublin—I am thankful for your good opinion and earnestly desire to be serviceable to your Lordship. I am glad the proposals we sent for the settlement of this army met with a favourable reception from you, and I doubt not but that you will find our troops faithful and useful. They cheerfully subscribed the engagement sent to you by the Council of officers here, not a single officer and only five privates having refused to sign. "And truly for the Convention and the English gentry of Ireland that are not of the army, though it cannot be imagined but that some particular persons will be extravagant in their discourse, yet I must assure your Lordship the generality of them are of sober principles and willing to expect a good settlement of these nations from the wise consultations of the Parliament of England and the Council there, and are not so rash and precipitate in their resolutions as perhaps they are represented to your Lordship. The adjourning of the Convention for six weeks' time was yesterday voted at a grand committee and I hope it will commence on Friday next, though the earnest desires of many to hear something out of England in this juncture of affairs before their dispersing makes them press hard that the adjournment may not begin until some day the next week." *Signed.*

COLONEL FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK, at St. James'.

1660, April 27. Hull—"This day Lieutenant Merry, Corporal Preston—and John Rawdon, whom the commission reacheth not—were sent hither by Colonel Bethell, together with William Winde of the same troop, a witness, the substance of whose information is, that Broadwith—not yet apprehended nor Byfield—did order their march to York, and told him, the said Winde, that all things were well, and wrought in the south beyond expectation. Merry—in his further examination before me—would confess nothing, but took frivolous exceptions against them that informed. I have them in safe custody within the castle, in order to a trial on Thursday se'nnight, supposing the principal\* may be tried before, that we may the better know how to proceed against the accessaries and in the interim may receive your Excellency's further commands. The delay in the least is not in favour to the prisoners—against whom we protest our utmost abhorrency—but that we may walk by the safest rule, not presuming to lead but desirous to be directed by a better precedent. It is acknowledged a mercy that the Lord has delivered the enemy of our peace into your Excellency's hands—so merciful a patriot when it may consist with justice and the nation's security, none than yourself being a more competent judge. They are my grandfather's children that must be ruined by their wretched father's ambition and eating sour grapes, but we of their blood had rather bemoan him than see the country redacted to confusion, and if there be no medium—which in truth none can find out better than yourself—then *potius pereat unus quam unitas*, and the will of the Lord be done. I cannot enlarge more than in affections and pity to the poor innocents.

*Postscript.*—"I am indeed more passionate than partial, nor can such a man go to his deserved execution without a tear."

COLONEL THOMAS BLOUNT to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 28. Writtlemarsh—Asking him to send a troop of horse to Greenwich to prevent the people there from gathering in a warlike posture under pretence of a maypole, which is against a law made in 1644.

The Non-Commissioned OFFICERS and SOLDIERS of Captain Ogle's troop to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 29—Declaring their willingness to observe all commands of his Excellency or the Council of State, and to agree to whatsoever the coming Parliament may resolve. *Fifty-nine signatures.*

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\* Lambert, re-taken on April 22.

## LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN STILE to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 30. Lynn—This day the Commissioners for Norfolk came and demanded the keys of the town gates—wishing them to be kept by the Mayor—and likewise required to see our commissions, which they did. I desired them to excuse my delivering them the keys until I should receive orders from the Parliament or Council. I also acquainted them that it was usual for the officer in command to keep the keys of the gates in all places. I therefore desired them to wait till I knew your Excellency's pleasure therein.

## MAJOR THEOPHILUS HART to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April 30. Coventry—Reporting that he has examined the two troops who were in the late engagement with Lambert to find out by what order they left their quarters, and that he has decided to send the Colonel's troop to Worcester and the other to Tamworth to be disbanded. He found the soldiers very sensible of their error, into which they had been led by some busy persons who were Anabaptists.

## COLONEL J[OHN] HEWSON to GENERAL MONK.

1659[-60], April—I came yesterday to my house with purpose to attend the Council but they were not sitting, and being very lame of the gout I am constrained to trouble your Excellency with this, desiring the man in whose house I have lodged above a month to satisfy you that I have lived there privately, without knowledge of my friends and holding converse with none, "that no jealousy might fix upon me, and that your Excellency may be satisfied I am innocent as to any disturbance which the Council by their proclamation doth suspect." *Seal of arms.*

## SIR JOHN PALGRAVE to GENERAL MONK.

1660, April—On Saturday I received your commands to take care of the parts about Yarmouth. On Monday I went thither, and found ready compliance of the Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant Colonel Styles. All is quiet there. "Yesterday I came to Norwich to meet those gentlemen of the militia, where some progress is made as the choice of the Colonel and most of the officers. Sir Horace Townshend, the horse, viz., two troops. The four regiments of foot to my Lord Richardson, Sir John Hobart, Sir Ralph Hare and Sir William Doyle. Some informations we had from about Lynn and Walsingham which import some disturbance, but the troops not yet come in." *Seal of arms.*

RICHARD CROMWELL to the VICE-CHANCELLOR and CONVOCATION  
of OXFORD.

1660, May 8. Hursley—Resigning his position as Chancellor of the University. *Copy*. [*Printed in* “Life and Times of Anthony à Wood,” *Vol. I.*, p. 315.]

COLONEL FAIRFAX to GENERAL MONK, at St. James’.

1660, May 11. Kingston-upon-Hull—“This day we had a very great solemnity—and indeed it was done with all full observances both by magistrates and officers—a scaffold erected, the proclamation read, all of us attending in our best posture to declare a concurrence to this just act of superiors, according to that duty which our allegiance requireth. Only one soldier—more hinting than expressing his disassent by not firing in course—may give us the trouble to-morrow to cashier him. Yesterday we had a convention of officers for trial of Lieutenant Merry, that busy agitator. The work has been hitherto—by your Excellency’s sweet conduct—without any blood; not fit for us to begin the precedent.” Your commission limits us to members of the army, which he is not, and although he is clearly within the article of intelligence, and by it punishable, yet your letter “limits us to proceeding against him as a spy, and—in favour of life—must be taken strictly.” I have hitherto kept the soldiers strictly to their duty, and have never been a stonecast from the works here, not having my warrant from you, save for a journey at the season of the year to Scarborough Spa. Now the danger is past I shall give the men more liberty, not exceeding the limits of your former commands. *Seal of arms*.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

1660, July 25—Citation by Robert, Bishop of Oxford; Richard Zouch, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty; Michael Woodward, Warden of New College; Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen’s; Robert Say, Provost of Oriel; Walter Blandford, Warden of Wadham; and five others, Commissioners amongst others for the visitation of Oxford University, summoning the members of the University to attend them “*in Domo Congregationis Universitatis*” [the Convocation House] upon the last day of July. *Latin*.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF SCOTLAND to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1660, August 11. Holyrood House—We have received your Excellency’s letter concerning the estate of Kinneall, and have consulted with Mr. Hodges, who advises us to wait until you have read the enclosed. We thought it our duty to concur with this proposal, “lest your Excellency’s most important

affairs for the service of these kingdoms should remove the particulars of your own concerns from your remembrance.”  
*Three signatures.*

*Enclosing,*

*Robert Hodges to the Duke of Albemarle.*

1660, August 11. *Edinburgh*—Hearing that your Excellency has given order for delivering to the Duchess of Hamilton the writings and evidences relating to Kinneall, I make bold to advise you to see that the Duchess accept the burden of all debts upon the estate, and that she and her husband, the Earl of Selkirk, give you an ample discharge “of your intromission with that estate.” *Signed.*

THE COMMISSIONERS OF SCOTLAND to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1660, August 28. *Holyrood House*—Enclosing a petition from Capt. Benjamin Brassey [or Bressie] to the King and recommending his case. *Two signatures. Petition enclosed.*

DOCTOR W. BURT, Warden of Winchester College, to the  
 VISITORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

1660, September 10. *Winchester College*—“Two letters we received, the one directed to the electors in behalf of Allenson, the other to the Warden and fellows of Winchester College in behalf of New College in Oxon.” To the first the bearer will answer “that it is neither agreeable with our customs or statutes, the school being able to present to our election a sufficient number of good scholars, as at this time, to admit of any superannuates already departed, the consequence whereof would be very prejudicial to their successors in the place. To the other be pleased to accept of this return, that the major part of our fellows at present are at their several livings and the college very much in debt, besides other great charges necessarily to be defrayed. Yet upon the return from our progress which to-morrow will begin, and the convention of our fellows at the Audit immediately following, wherein we may best judge of our ability, your request, God willing, shall then be propounded at our first meeting. We only desire this small delay not to avoid the effect of your request but out of necessity.”

GEORGE HITCHCOCK and others of Oxford University to the  
 HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1660, December 27—Complaining that the visitors of the University are mostly clergy and members of the University, contrary to the statutes, and that they have “outed” several heads, fellows and professors who were statutably chosen, where there were no persons to claim their places, while continuing

those who came in by authority of the Rump, particularly at All Souls, where they have continued Mr. Cawley, son of a regicide. Also that one of them [*Hitchcock. See Cal. of S.P. Dom for 1660-1661, p. 273*], for not quitting his chamber, being his freehold, had his room broken into by soldiers, a pistol discharged at him, his person dangerously wounded, "and so hurried to the common gaol" into close confinement. Being well-affected persons, they pray to be re-established in their places in the University. *Signed by George Hitchcock and four others.*

#### OXFORD COLLEGES.

[1660]—List of persons ejected by the visitors in 1648 and those put in their places.

Ejected, to be provided for if they sue for their places.	Put in by the visitors and still fellows.
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##### ST. JOHN BAPTIST'S COLLEGE.

Dr. George Wyld.	Tho. Brace.
Robert Cuff.	Edw. Humbarston.
Jos. Crowther.	John Whitwick.
John Goad.	William Waddon.
Peter Mewes.	Robert George.
Robert Jennings.	John Troughton.
George Gysbie.	
Tho. Winnafd.	
[John] Blackman.	
Jo. Speed.	

They outed Mr. Ellis, organist, and all the choir, taking Sir William Paddy's revenue, belonging to the said choir, and employed it in a wrong way. Sir William Paddy gave 200*l.* per annum.

Ejected.

Put in.

##### MERTON COLLEGE.

[Roger] Brent.	[Peter] Nicols.
[Chris.] Fowle.	[John] Powell.
[John] Lee.	

There is no certain number of fellows in this college.

##### NEW COLLEGE.

[William] Beaw.  
[James] Tychburn.  
[Timothy] Blencoe.  
[Richard] Rowlandson.  
[Robert] Baynham.  
[John] Dunmer.  
[Thomas] Fowkes.  
[John] Marshall.  
[Roger] Higham.  
Compton [*?* Henry Complin].



Ejected.

Put in.

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

Tho. Ratcliff.

[Sampson] Eyton.

[Abraham] Woodhead.

[Edward] Terry.

[Obadiah] Walker.

[Edward] Farrar.

[Edward] Anderson.

[Richard] Griffith.

## BALLIOL COLLEGE.

[James] Thickens.

*A fellowship void.*

## CHRISTCHURCH.

See the paper given in, which is too large to transcribe.  
Given unto me by Mr. Jo. Dolbin.

## ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

I have only received the names of such persons as were ejected, not of such as still remain in the said charge, put in by order of the visitors. I refer you therefore to the paper given me.

## ALL SOULS COLLEGE.

Dr. Baldwin has delivered unto his hand the state of this college, to whom I refer you.

## ORIEL COLLEGE.

Jo. Duncomb.

[Samuel] Carter.

Hen. Chamberlain.

[Thomas] Newman, *butler*.

Phil. Bowch.

Roger Frye, *butler*—see his  
*petition*.

## CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE.

[George] Stratford, *dead*.

Lane.

Dr. Ja. Hyde.

[Samuel] Byfield.

[Richard] Samways.

[John] Seyer.

[John] Heywood, *I think*  
*married*.

[William] Gardiner.

[John] Kind.

[John] Paris.

[Thomas] Sutton.

Maltin [? Thos. Malthus].

[George] Halsted, *married*.

[Thomas] Sanderson.

[Henry] Dutton, *married*.[Joseph] Barker, *married*.

[James] Jackson.

[Thomas] Drury.

[Thomas] Jennings, sr. [scholar].

[William] Lydall, *dead*, sr.

[John] Clark, sr.

[Gamaliel] Clarson [Clark-  
son], sr.

## CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, continued.

## Ejected.

[Edward] Eales, *chaplain*.

[William] Fulman.

[William] Stamp.

[William] Colldoham.

[William] Tonstall.

Rob. Newlin, *steward*.Tho. Seymer, *manciple*.John Parn, *butler, dead*.Jo. Hill, *cook, senior*.Hen. Price, *cook, junior*.Tho. Bowdon, *janitor*.

This note is somewhat imperfect, but the best I can for the present get, none of the old stock of fellows being left in that college.

## QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

Richard Gregory, *butler*,  
*see his petition.*

[George] Philips, *fellow*.  
 Jo. Cornelius, *butler*.

## BRAZEN-NOSE COLLEGE.

John Newton.

Jo. Burscough.

Tho. Church.

Sam. Bruen.

Rich. [? Hugh] Roberts.

Robert Ridgway.

Ralph Rawson.

Jo. Blackburne.

## EXETER COLLEGE.

[John] Proctor.

[Abraham] Batten.

[John] Bidgood.

[Samuel] Conant.

[Degory] Polewheele.

[John] Sanders.

Wm. Harding, *cook, see his  
 petition.*

Dr. [Peter] Fiatt.

[Edmund] Davies.

Ant. Jett, *cook*.

## WADHAM COLLEGE.

Dr. [Tristram] Sugg.

[Walter] Pope.

[Richard] Goodridge [or  
 Goodridge].

*There are two fellowships  
 now actually void.*

Strangridge [Nicholas Strang-  
 ways], *restored by a  
 mandamus.*

## LINCOLN COLLEGE.

[John] Gilbert.

A fellowship now actually  
 void.

## TRINITY COLLEGE.

## PEMBROKE COLLEGE.

[Philip] Potter.

## JESUS COLLEGE.

[William?] Braborn.

## Beadles ejected.

Edm. Gayton, Esq., *beadle of  
physic and arts.*

Sol. Lychfield, *beadle of law,  
yeoman beadle.*

Hen. Davies, *yeoman beadle.*

William Ball, *yeoman beadle  
of physic and arts.*

[John] Wilkins, Esq., *Beadle of Divinity, came in by dead  
(sic).*

[Samuel] Clark, Esq., *beadle of law, came in by the resignation  
of Mr. Hoare. He is a learned man.*

## Ejected.

Dr. Archibald Baylie, Presi-  
dent of St. John Baptist  
College.

Dr. Hannibal Potter, Presi-  
dent of Trinity College.

Dr. Tho. Walker, Master of  
University College.

[Henry] Whitwick, Master of  
Pembroke College.

Dr. Francis Maunsell,  
Principal of Jesus College.

Dr. [Robert] Newlin, Presi-  
dent of Corpus Christi  
College.

Dr. [George] Morley, Dean of  
Christchurch. *See his case.*

All the present Canons (excepting Dr. Wall and Mr. Pocock),  
being six in number, came in by the visitors.

Dr. Richard Gardiner, Prebend [of Christchurch], Dr. Christo-  
pher Rogers, Christchurch. *See his case.*

Mr. Tho. Yates *lays claim  
to the headship of Brazen-  
Nose.*

Mr. Jo. Birkenhead. fellow of  
All Souls', Moral philoso-  
phy lecturer.

Mr. Robert Waring (*dead*)  
put out of his history  
lecture.

Dr. Hen. Stringer (*dead*) was  
Greek lecturer.

Dr. Jo. Edwards (*dead*) put  
out of his natural philoso-  
phy lecture.

Dr. [Peter] Turner (*dead*)  
put out of his geometry  
lecture.

## Beadles possessing their places.

[Richard] Campian.

[John] Langley.

[Anthony] Fidoe [*divinity*].

Stevenson [? Philip

Stephens].

## Put in.

Mr. Thankfull Owen, *now*  
President.

Dr. Seth Ward, *now* Presi-  
dent.

Mr. Francis Johnson, *now*  
Master.

Dr. Henry Langley, *now*  
Master.

Mr. [Francis] Howell, *now*  
Principal.

Dr. Edm. Staunton, *now*  
President.

Dr. Edw. Reynolds, *now*  
Dean.

Dr. Dan. Greenwood, *now*  
Principal.

Mr. [William] Carpenter,  
*now* lecturer.

Dr. [Lewis] Du Molins, *now*  
lecturer.

Mr. [John] Harmer. *now*  
lecturer.

Dr. [Joshua] Crosse, *now*  
lecturer.

Dr. [John] Wallace [or  
Wallis], *now* lecturer.

Ejected.	Put in.
Mr. Jo. Greaves ( <i>dead</i> ) was astronomy lecturer.	Dr. Seth Ward, <i>now</i> lecturer.
Dr. [Robert] Sanderson, Regius Professor of Divinity.	Dr. [John] Conant, <i>now</i> Professor.
Dr. [Thomas] Lawrence ( <i>dead</i> ) Lady Margaret Professor.	Dr. Hen. Wilkinson of Christchurch, Professor.
Dr. [John] Maplet, Principal of Gloucester Hall.	Dr. [Tobias] Garbrand, <i>now</i> Principal.
Dr. Tho. Read put in his plea for Magdalen Hall.	Dr. Hen. Wilkinson, <i>now</i> Principal.

Petitions to be considered.	Against.
Will. Harding, <i>cook of Exeter.</i>	Anth. Jett, <i>now cook.</i>
Mr. Ellys, <i>organist of St. John's.</i>	<i>The place void a long time.</i>
Rich. Gregory, <i>butler of Queen's.</i>	Cornelius, <i>now butler.</i>
Roger Fry, <i>butler of Oriel College.</i>	Newman, <i>now butler.</i>
Some other petitions tied together in one bundle" [ <i>wanting</i> ].	

MARGARET COLLINS to her cousin, SIR WILLIAM CLARKE, at his house in the Pell Mell.

1660[-61], March 22. Stanmore—Congratulating him upon his knighthood and asking his good offices with her father. *Printed in the preface to Vol. II. of the Clarke Papers, p. 9.*

JOHN PLAYFORD to SIR WILLIAM CLARKE.

1661, March 26—A bill of 5*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* for books, including Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, price 15*s.*, and a volume containing "fourteen plays of several sorts."

THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

1661, April 15—A list of the knights of the Garter, apparently arranged according to the position of their stalls in St. George's Chapel.

MAJOR NICHOLAS KELK and THOMAS KELK to the EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

1661, April 26—Bond in 1,000*l.*, conditioned for the loyal and peaceful behaviour of Nicholas Kelk. *Signed.*

COLONEL SIR EDWARD HARLEY to the DUKE [OF ALBEMARLE].

1661, May 18-28. Dunkirk—I have consulted with the Irish officers at Mardyke about their removal near to this town. They conceive unless the necessity were urgent “their troops will be much incommoded when they shall be in so narrow a room as they must be if they remove under the town walls, for although there are not in the troops above 1,600 effective men yet there are many more women and children, who take up much room and receive much supply” by fish they take on the shore.

I consider the troops will be of more service at Mardyke “to countenance the new works upon Fort Lyon side, and if the Spaniards will attempt to fall upon the Irish at Mardyke then it is much more likely that the Spaniards will possess Mardyke and make a quarter there; besides I must freely acquaint your Grace that I very much doubt when the Irish and English come so near together they will not agree so well as at this distance.”

I have intelligence that the Spaniards are drawing all their strength to “Nieuport, Furnes, Hounscot [Hondschoote], and Berghe [Bergues], where several troops are expected this day.”

The OFFICERS AT DUNKIRK to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1661, May—“You having been a father to your country and more particularly to us of this garrison, God having raised you up to accomplish those things in the restoration of our Lord and master, his most sacred Majesty, to his rights, which we all constantly and passionately desired but had not the possibility to effect but by your conduct,” we implore you to mediate with the King that no officer or soldier of the troops or companies of this garrison may be cashiered or put out of their employment without first having their arrears paid.

*Signed by* Colonel Roger Alsop, Lieutenant-Colonels Maurice Kingswell and William Fleetwood and 47 others.

WILLIAM CARY to his sister [in-law], LADY CLARKE.

1661, June—An account of money expended for household and personal effects.

SIR WILLIAM CLARKE to his brother [in-law], WILLIAM CARY, Goldsmith.

1661, August 26. Cockpit—An order to pay 20*l.* to his cousin, James Staresmore. With receipt by Staresmore for the money.

COLONEL WILLIAM DANIEL to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1661, November 4. Ayr— . . . “The government by Bishops doth not relish with this country’s palates; a petulant

zeal and ignorance is the cause, which time and experience must work out. His Majesty can never trust a popular government in the Church; they will be naturally discomposing his affairs. I gave my Lord Chancellor and the Major General an account of the carriage of the people in these parts at the proclamation for episcopal government, which I know was presented to your Grace. There was no reverent assistance by the magistrates of this place at the solemnity. There was a protestation thrown about at the time thereof, and at night the same, to wit the proclamation, was by rude hands plucked off the cross and other conspicuous places. They all pretend zeal to the King but not in a way consistent to his authority."

LORD RUTHERFORD to the DUKE [OF ALBEMARLE].

1661, November 4. Dunkirk—I am exceedingly sorry that I did not know your Grace's kindness for Major Francis Conway. "It is above six weeks since he was reduced and passed into England, yea above four months since he was designed to be cashiered for some dangerous words spoken by him in public in the market-place of his Majesty, whereof all the magistrates were witness. Yet if it be your will he have a company again, I shall renounce my own concernment in every point and give him rather my own company, since my chief study is and always shall be to obey exactly, with all submission, your Grace's commands."

MAJOR FRANCIS CONWAY to LORD GENERAL MONK (*sic*).

1661, November 26. Bedminster, near Bristol—Protesting his own loyalty and denouncing Mr. John Casbeard, who formerly afflicted and ruined any that did but name his Majesty, and after the rout at Worcester "made a great bonfire before his door at Bristol and gave money to drink for joy."

CAPTAIN JOHN BARDSLEY to MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MORGAN.

1661, November 28. Stirling Castle—Complaining of the insults offered to the English soldiers by the townsmen of Stirling. *Copy*.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MORGAN to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, at the Cockpit.

1661, December 2. Leith Citadel—I thank your Lordship for procuring fourteen days' pay for the soldiers here. "When it came I knew not how to make the forces subsist one week longer, so that it came very seasonably and I shall take care to lengthen it as long as possibly we can, but still am necessitated humbly to entreat that your Lordship will be further mindful

of us and favour us with your assistance against this little be expended to gain another supply if our arrears be not suddenly ordered to be paid off, for the soldiers have no landlords to trust them and if their weekly subsistence fail them they will be reduced to straights. My Lord, there lately happened an unhappy difference 'twixt the magistrates of Stirling with the townspeople, some country gentlemen and the officers and soldiers of Stirling Castle, and to be truly informed of the ground and occasion of the said difference the Lord Chancellor appointed the magistrates to repair to Edinburgh, and I, [with] the officers of Stirling Castle, to repair hither, since whose appearance face to face the officers have made it clearly evident that the magistrates &c. were the fomenters and only occasion of the quarrel, and that it was a premeditated design either to have murdered the officers or at least to have affronted them in such gross manner as to have rendered them incapable of the commands. For upon notice given to the castle of what danger several of their officers were in, an officer drew forth a party consisting of eight files of men into the town and despatched a corporal with four soldiers to go and see what was become of the officers, but the magistrates and townspeople being all in arms—or the greatest part of them—they set upon the corporal and four soldiers and presently knocked three of them down, and the rest escaping returned back to the residue of the afore-said party, on which they advanced towards the baillie's house, where the officers were engaged, and meeting also with opposition they fell upon the magistrates and townspeople with the butt ends of their muskets and wounded eighteen or twenty of them, and so cleared the streets before them and came to the baillie's house, where they found the officers wounded, disarmed and in the condition of prisoners, but after they had rescued them out of their hands they returned to the castle. There are ten or twelve of the soldiers wounded. The Laird of Pommoio\* on the party's approach cried to the townspeople, kill the rogues, kill the rogues, &c.; but it would be too tedious to give your Grace a full relation, therefore I shall not enlarge much, only that I find some of the great ones seem to be much troubled at this unhandsome carriage of their countrymen and the daily continuance thereof, and would gladly salve it up without a further hearing, finding it to be very foul, but I press your Lordship that the offenders may be made exemplary for preventing the like injuries being offered to any of his Majesty's soldiers for the time to come, so that they have desired a meeting with me on Wednesday next, and I shall see what justice they will do therein. But in a word, my Lord, they are very abusive and injurious to the soldiers and if I continued not a strict discipline amongst the soldiers they would quickly revenge themselves, yet I am now constrained for the soldiers' security to give order that no soldiers depart out of their

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\* Possibly the Laird of Polmoed fined in 1662. See *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vii., p. 422.

garrisons without their swords, and that they go not less than six or twelve together, and withal strictly require them that they offer not the least injury or offence to any of the people of this kingdom but endeavour to shun all occasions thereof." *Signed. Seal of arms.*

SIR THOMAS MORGAN to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1661, December 16. Leith Citadel—"Whereas there was arrears of the cess due by the city of Edinburgh and town of Leith, I made demand thereof from the Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, whereupon they did allege that there was a number of poor people both in the city and town of Leith that were no way able to pay the arrears of cess due by them and that they had already used all possible diligence for the collecting thereof, and therefore desired that I would assist them with a party of soldiers to see what could be done that way, the which I accordingly did grant. And truly, my Lord, when the officers came to quarter soldiers on the deficient, they found many not only poor and so unable to pay their cess, but also very many that had left their habitations both in the city of Edinburgh and town of Leith, and there was several English amongst them. And in respect of the poverty of many decayed families, &c., as aforesaid, I was necessitated to suspend 150*l.* of the arrears of assess due by them and to promise to the Lord Provost and magistrates of Edinburgh that on their taking speedy care for the payment of the remainder—to answer the present urging necessities of his Majesty's English forces here—I would intercede with your Grace in their behalf that the said 150*l.* may be abated and allowed them, and his Lordship with the magistrates entreat your Grace's favour for them."

[NICHOLAS MONK], BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

1661, December 18—A list of persons invited to the funeral of the Bishop of Hereford, including the Earls of Lindsey, Bath and Anglesey, Lords Mohun, Petre and Ashley, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Thomas Clarges, Sir Peter Killigrew, Sir William Morris, Secretary of State, Colonel John Birch, Bernard Grenville, Sir John Rolle, Sir William Penn, Jonathan Trelawney and fifteen others. With note of twenty-four bishops and a hundred and thirty-five members of Convocation.

CAPTAIN THOMAS ELLIS to SIR WILLIAM CLARK, at the Cockpit.

1661, December 28. Leith—Alexander Clarke and his company have arrived here in a little ketch from Hull, bringing with them all the rigging saved from your ship [the *Security*] lost at the Spurn at Humber mouth, where never ship was lost before. "They say they were bewitched, but I told them they were besotted with ignorance."



The LORD PROVOST and BAILIFFS OF EDINBURGH to the DUKE  
OF ALBEMARLE.

1661, December—"We have seen your Grace's letter written to our Lord Provost for payment of 300*l.* sterling, due in arrear to the soldiers. We need not represent to your Grace our deplorable and sad condition and that of our neighbours. The honourable Major-General and all your officers, as they have been and are spectators thereof, so we doubt not but they have made the same known to your Grace, and that nevertheless we have straitened ourselves to the very highest in raising and paying in to him the one half of the said money upon some promises and assurances to be freed of the other half thereof, which we in all humility must beg, and that your Grace would be pleased favourably to abate [it] unto us and to signify so much unto the Major-General for our exoneration." *Signed by Robert Murray, provost, and William Reid and John Lauder, bailiffs.*

The COLDSTREAMERS.

1661, December—"It is humbly desired that such persons as were at Coldstream with the Duke of Albemarle and did join with him in pulling down the usurped powers, and have not since his Majesty's restoration showed any disaffection to his government by word or action, may have no mark of disfavour or disgrace set upon them by being prohibited wearing arms or banished the city from following their lawful occasions, seeing they are persons that do well deserve the title of his Majesty's loving and faithful subjects and are more odious to the fanatical rebels than his Majesty's old suffering servants, because of their return to loyalty and obedience."

*Endorsed:—"Memorandum for the Coldstreamers." In the handwriting of Sir William Clarke.*

[DUKE OF ALBEMARLE] to SIR COPLESTON BAMPFIELD, SIR  
WILLIAM COURTNEY and SIR JOHN NORTHCOTT.

1661[-2], January 23—His Majesty and the Council, being acquainted with the enclosed letter and certificate concerning arms hidden in the Guildhall at Exeter, have commanded me to appoint the three nearest deputy-lieutenants to examine the business. I therefore desire you three to do so and to return the examinations to me. [*Draft, in Sir William Clarke's handwriting.*] *Enclosing,*

1. *Henry Gaudy, Mayor of Exeter, to Sir John Smith, M.P., and Robert Walker, M.P.*

1661[-2], January 18—*Information concerning the above-mentioned arms.*

2. *Gunsmiths of Exeter to the Duke of Albemarle.*

1661[-2], January 18—*Certificate on the same subject.*

FRANCIS ROGERS and others to SIR WM. CLARKE.

1662, September 17. Denmark House—Being appointed by the King's warrant to require those who have had any of the late King's goods in their hands to deliver them up or make satisfaction, we find that Sir William Clarke has had "of the aforesaid goods viz.:—Fifty-six books of Greek and Latin, and an old trunk, nine Turkey chairs, a Turkey carpet, a demi carpet, a feather-bed and bolster, a demi carpet, a small carpet. a small feather-bed and blanket, the four Evangelists, a man sitting on a stone, a woman giving suck, a King of France, Madonna and child, a Madonna, child and Jesus (*sic*), a Madonna with flowers, a Saint on marble, a Mary in clouds, Christ praying, a child bearing a cross, a Queen when a child, a Madonna and two children, and a landscape with a windmill, for which he paid to the late usurped powers the sum of 36*l*." He affirms that he many years since disposed of the goods in Scotland, but offers to pay 20*l*. in composition. We hereby order Sir Wm. Clarke to make the said payment to Thomas Chaffinch, Esq., who is to give him a discharge for the same.

*Enclosing*:—Receipt for the money, by Thomas Chaffinch.

LORD TREASURER SOUTHAMPTON to the KING.

1664, April 22—Report upon a reference of Secretary Bennet's petition concerning St. John's Wood and Marylebone Park.

A moiety of St. John's Wood is in lease to Mr. Collins for fifteen years to come at 13*l*. with a lease in reversion to make up thirty-one years at 50*l*. and 500*l*. fine.

Sir William Clarke has a fourth part for thirty-one years, "lately granted as a Coldstreamer."

The other fourth is out of lease, which your Majesty had directed me to grant to Mr. John Seymour at 25*l*. rent and 600*l*. fine.

As to Marybone Park, it is submitted to your Majesty whether you intend to reduce it to a park again or to reserve that power to yourself, as you have done in other leases.

Sir William Clarke has sixty acres of it in his lease of St. John's Wood. Mr. John Cary had the custody, with herbage and pannage, valued at 162*l*. per annum.

The whole is valued yearly at 870*l*. and let to under tenants, who pay the same to Sir George Stroud's executors and Mr. Wandesford for a debt for making powder at Oxford. They are almost paid off but claim compensation for a year more.

As the park is now, Mr. Surveyor certifies that it may be fit to reserve 200*l*. rent and 6,000*l*. fine.

The Queen was seeking it as part of her jointure, and if your Majesty disposes of it to the petitioner the part reserved may be given to her. *Copy*.

The INHABITANTS of the OLD PELL MELL to the KING.

1664, July—The petitioners have always had the use of the way between their houses and St. James' Park, the said way—parcel of the Bailiwick of St. James', and partly taken out of St. James' Fields—being demised to them with their houses, which are built applicable to it, and cannot be turned without great damage and charge. His Majesty, having declared that the continuance of that way would offend his garden, was pleased to grant it to petitioners to augment their gardens, which grant they now pray him to confirm. Signed by Sir Gilbert Gerard, Lord Holles, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Saye and Sele, Sir William Clarke, and twenty-two others. *Copy.*

HENRY VASSALL to the DUKE [OF ALBEMARLE].

1665, April—Memorial in the name of the Society of Gentlemen in the Barbadoes, adventurers for Carolina, concerning the terms of their concession and their agreement to plant a colony at Cape Feare. *Signed.*

JOHN LAURENCE, Lord Mayor, to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1665, August 11. London—Concerning collections for the poor in the suburbs.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

1665, December 8-18. [Hague?]  
—The news from Germany this week is very scanty. The Emperor, having returned to Vienna, has held a Council and resolved to levy some fresh regiments, but with what object is not known. The articles of capitulation are finished at Ratisbon, excepting that which concerns the management of the gates, in which the Electoral Princes and Estates of the Empire claim to have their share, which, however, will not prevent a settlement. The Princes and Estates, who intend to contest certain matters with the States General of the Low Countries, are preparing their complaints to present to the Assembly. The envoy of the Bishop of Munster complains greatly of the proceedings of the Count of Waldeck.

The disagreement between the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Mentz has been submitted to mediators at Spire.

It is said that the King of Sweden has written a serious letter to the Emperor on this subject, alleging that the Elector of Mentz, who by his vocation is bound to promote peace, is the first in the Empire to disturb it, by which means he may bring about a fresh war, and urging the Emperor to use his authority to settle matters.

The troops of the Duke of Brounsurque [Brunswick] and the Count of Waldeck are still upon their frontiers, the rendezvous having been between Neuburg and Salingen [Sublingen?] in the province of Hoya, whence they will advance towards Osna-bruck, and thence to join the troops of this State, who after the reduction of Lochem—whence the garrison of the Bishop of Munster departed on Monday last—are reported to intend to march towards Westphalia to meet the Lunenbourg troops. This the Bishop, who is between them with six or seven thousand horse, will try to prevent. Thus in a few days we may have news of a conflict if the frost do not prevent it, for the army is beginning to talk of winter quarters.

The States have to-day been electing the chief officers for a regiment of marines.

M. Hannibal Zeestat has lately come from Copenhagen, with no commission that one knows of. M. Klingersberg, envoy-extraordinary of the King of Denmark, is also still here, and the treaty between that Crown and this State may be finished in a few days. It is said that it only depends upon the final declaration of the States of Holland, as does also that with the Elector of Brandenburg.

M. [Sir Walter] Vane, envoy from the King of Great Britain, has arrived at Cleves, whence the deputies of the States—who went to congratulate the Elector—returned to the Hague four days ago. They were very well received and entertained there.

The troops of Munster still possess a few places here and there, but of no importance, and our army would soon retake them if they wished. But for all that a good peace would be better. May God give it to us.

Last week a party of troops were sent out on some enterprise, and the Bishop having notice of it fell upon them in an ambuscade, when our troops had to fly, losing about a hundred and fifty horses. The Count of Warfuse [*sic*], a volunteer, Mr. Honeywood, captain of cavalry, and three or four other officers were taken prisoners. It is said that if our cavalry had had room to turn they would have repulsed the enemy, but they had a ditch on one side of them and a marsh on the other. *French.*

NATHANIEL ELDRED to the KING.

[1665?]-Praying discharge of proceedings instituted against him in relation to his late employment as Commissioner of Prize goods in Scotland. *Copy.*

R. SALTONSTALL to the DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

1665[-6], January 18—Asking to have his protection for his safe passage into co. Durham and back again.

ANN SAVILE to MR. SHIPPEN, Fellow of University College,  
Oxford.

1666, March 30—Though possibly I admire you as much as ever any did, I must tell you that your subject was unworthy of your pen. Shallow waters often make the greatest noise where there is least depth. "I know you know this verified in her who protests there are few things could parallel the joy I should have to satisfy you, but I must avow, though I desire nothing more, I can give but an imperfect relation of what I saw; I am not certain whether in the glass or only my fancy. It is true Mr. Astall showed me two crystal balls, the one of which was more transparent than the other; it was in the clearer glass I saw what I thought I did, for the other represented nothing but a chaos and confusion. I told my brother it was a vision of Diana and her nymphs, who was pleased I had so religiously observed her laws, and came to encourage me in continuing a design that would be most glorious to me and satisfactory to her; but Mr. Shippen is too serious to be answered with a droll. I must tell him then, and tell him really, the glass seemed to be full of small atoms, which with earnest beholding dilated themselves and grew bigger, as I thought, by degrees, assuming the shapes of men and women. The heads appeared first, and after, arms and legs, like the metamorphosed sisters of Phaeton, branched out. There was one figure in the form of a woman, which I called the goddess, which was bigger than a many other that encompassed her, which I believed her nymphs. One time a beauteous sky, studded with stars and planets, I saw; likewise a man and woman set in two chairs not far from one another. I fancied then the colours they were in, but now I have forgot what fancy I had then, and doubtless it was but the fulfilling of that proverb, *as the fool thinketh, so the bell ringeth*. I said as much then, and laughed as heartily as you will do at my story to see Mr. Aston (*sic*) so very serious, and how he would have inspired a faith into me, telling me the gift might be lost which he was confident I had. . . . But Mr. Shippen, what I saw in Mr. Astall's glass, I see also in your letter, and I see the most accomplished of men guilty of entertaining fancies, as well as the most disingenious of women, since such a character as you give is unmerited, and all those praises and epithets the issue of your brains," so that it would prove a greater vanity in me to believe them than that I had a gift of seeing, which I want not.\*

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\* Compare a curious paper in the Egerton MSS. at the British Museum, vol. 2618, f. 159.

## MYSTERIA REVELATA.

1674—NARRATIVE OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II., by John Collins, Uncle of Sir William Clarke.

Certain memorials and annotations on the late Duke of Albemarle and some writers concerning him and his achievements. Written soon after the death of George, Duke of Albemarle.

Now that the Duke's defunct, and ev'ry poet  
Or man of wit ambitious is to show it  
In magnifying him, whilst all contend,  
As for a prize, who may him most commend,  
As if he were most worthy of the bays  
Who could extol his name with highest praise;  
And since our learned Universities  
Excited, have sent forth their elegies  
In divers languages, to admiration,  
Mixt (as 'tis usual) with some adulation,  
As in like wise (to dulcerate their matter)  
Court preachers have not spar'd his Grace to flatter,  
Knowing they doubly did their work the while  
They honoured him on whom his Prince did smile;

And since our senators in their records  
Have almost deified him with high words  
And more, his merit to perpetuate  
As the Restorer of our King and State,  
A story, 'ntitled *A Continuation*  
Is publisht, though contrived by combination  
Of partial writers, whose great interest  
It was thereby to have the truth suppress,  
Whilst they, as bold impostors, celebrate  
MONK's and their own names, at a mighty rate,  
Yet thus supposititious, as we see,  
It printed and re-printed too must be;

Now since the world runs so on wheels, and fame,  
Made up of many tongues, hath raised his name  
To such a height, who's so absurd to doubt  
The truth of what's so gloriously held out  
*Cum privilegio*, too? It needs must pass  
For current coin. Against the stream (alas)  
He vainly strives, and shall be thought but odd  
And singular, that shuns the path so trod,  
Or with th' Antipodes to go astray  
That shall incline to any other way.  
Or if, in contradiction, he relate  
What is most true, he'll have CASSANDRA's fate.

Yet, gentle sirs, maynt a spectator have  
 That favour, which in justice he may crave,  
 To know from whence you have this certain ground  
 Whereon so confidently to resound  
 Such high tantaras? Did you know the man,  
 Or his transactions? Show me, if you can,  
 What did he freely do, that may convince  
 He loyal was, and constant to his PRINCE?

O yes, you'll say, did not the nation ring  
 How MONK was he that did bring in the KING?

He did indeed, and so did many more  
 With brandisht swords, who but awhile before  
 Oppos'd him what they could; till all in vain  
 They found the King must be brought home again;  
 Then who'd not face about, and forward seem  
 T' attend his Majesty, so to redeem  
 Themselves from former faults? It was the way  
 And some have thriv'd well in't, as others say.  
 So much we sometimes taken are with those  
 That only cozen us with outward shows.

But you may think, yea, and perhaps believe  
 How MONK did long ago plot and contrive  
 In's secret thoughts, how he might bring to pass  
 This grand design, which now so acted was.

This was a secret plot indeed, not known  
 To any breast, no not unto his own,  
 As I believe. A myst'ry so profound,  
 The depth thereof my judgment cannot sound  
 I must confess; yet have some cause to know it,  
 If any one knows more, I would he'd show it.

I'm sure th' instructions that WILKS did bring  
 With's fellow Treaters, show'd us no such thing  
 Nor did MONK, though solicited, comply  
 With loyal BOOTH, but on the contrary  
 Assisted LAMBERT, till he flew so high  
 He did MONK's friends, the re-raised RUMP, decry,  
 And turn'd em out of doors, so that SIR ARTHUR,  
 SCOTT, MORLEY, WALTON and the rest for quarter  
 Got into Portsmouth, whence they send to MONK,  
 Who now comes forwards (Lambert being sunk)  
 T' assist those RUMPERS, re-assembled, and  
 T' assure em, he with them would stoutly stand  
 And sure those RUMPERS ne'er intended more  
 The KING or MONARCHY for to restore.

But not to quit our senses or our reason  
 (Though we'll not charge Republicans with treason)  
 Examine well MONK's actions 'mongst the SCOTS  
 His letters, declarations (full of blots)

Before and at his coming thence, yea, even  
 His answer to his countrymen of DEVON  
 As he was marching hitherwards. In these  
 Consider well his oaths, his promises  
 (Though since supprest) how all that made address  
 Unto him by the way, found small success  
 Or hopes, so firmly he stook and combin'd  
 With SCOTT and ROBINSON, till some design'd  
 A way to part 'em. Told him they, as spies,  
 Came from that party that did ways devise  
 To ruin him. Advis'd him not to come  
 To London, till their forces thence were gone.  
 Forewarn'd him, how they 'ntended to engage  
 Him in their odious acts, then off the stage  
 To throw him. And when they sent him away  
 Into the city, such high pranks to play,  
 These loyalists did not then spare to tell him  
 How that high party at low rates would sell him;  
 As boasting then they had him in their power,  
 At which the SPEAKER and his friends lookt sour.

His Excellence was much dejected, too,  
 As sensible they would him thus undo,  
 In which distress, to raise him, he's advis'd  
 How this o'er-pow'ring Faction over-pois'd  
 Might be, by 's quick return to London, where  
 For a free Parliament he might declare,  
 Which would regain the City, and 'twas fit  
 The late secluded members to re-mit,  
 Which would so strengthen him, that danger free  
 He what he would in a short time might be.

This self-concerning counsel quickly took,  
 (Th' adviser soon perceiv'd it in his look)  
 Without delay, into the City then  
 Next morning marches he, with all his men;  
 Dines with the Mayor, convenes a Council, and  
 Declares for a free Parliament he'll stand.

The citizens, before all in a dump,  
 Now ring their bells, make bonfires, roast the RUMP,  
 Cry up a MONK, whilst HASELRIGG and SCOTT  
 At this affront are inwardly more hot,  
 And rage implacably. But to allay  
 Or stop their fury, there's a ready way,  
 The late secluded members to bring on,  
 Necessity requires it now, 'tis done.

But here observe with what a different mind  
 These persons act, th' adviser he designed  
 As from the first, how he about might bring  
 These matters so as to restore the King,  
 Which he foresaw these sub-divisions would  
 Sooner than all the Royal party could.



The GENERAL (who now hath got that style  
Which HASELRIGGE and 's party all the while  
Before denied him) now begins to feel  
His strength increasing, and the force of steel,  
Which to keep up, ere re-admitted, he  
Gets the secluded members to agree.

And thus his thoughts enlarging with his power  
He's far enough from thinking to restore  
His Majesty. He and his lady both  
Are otherwise engaged, upon their troth,  
T' aggrandize now themselves; the good old cause  
Advanced had the sword above the laws  
In SCOTLAND, where the KING and BISHOPS, too,  
Were still kept out, why mayn't he here so do,  
And settle all into a Commonwealth?  
Exchange is not deemed robbery or stealth  
'Mongst soldiers of fortune, nor is't strange  
For them to raise themselves by any change.

Their then Scout-master, Chaplain GUMBLE, still  
Their listning ears doth with such doctrines fill  
(As he knew suited well with their desire),  
As his grand patron SCOTT did him inspire,  
Who with SIR ARTHUR and his crest-fall'n crew  
Re-visit now the GENERAL anew;  
And to associate him in his new reign  
They are content that he shall be again  
Here, as in SCOTLAND, CHIEF, and as the State  
Shall settled be, he shall pre-dominate  
As once the PRINCE of AURANGE did, among  
This HOGIN MOGINS; this took very strong,  
And to prepare his Excellency for't  
He now expects the gift of HAMPTON COURT,  
As fitting for him, but this was gainsaid  
And by a more discerning party stayed;  
Whilst twenty thousand pounds in lieu thereof  
Is voted to him; now all in a puff  
He and his lady are, dissatisfied  
In that the House had not thus gratified  
Their longings; 'twere not fit for me to show  
What passions they exprest, though much I know  
And took some care t' allay em by advice  
They should not be more forward in't than wise,  
Unless they would incur the fatal doom  
Of CROMWELL's family, so late thrown down.  
But to adhere close to the Parliament,  
And still with what they did to rest content.  
So was I sure they should be held in fast,  
And that the KING would be brought in at last.

For now some loyal and free sp'rited men  
Can hardly hold, but they must now and then

Within the House make mention of the KING,  
Which startles others, as if no such thing  
Were to be nam'd. But for a Common-weale  
His Excellence and they do closely deal,  
Still to uphold it. And now full of fear  
(The time of their dissolving drawing near)  
All care is ta'en, a danger to prevent,  
That none may be for the next Parliament  
Elected, but who qualified must be,  
So as no Royalist you there might see.

But though the genius of the nation slept  
It was not dead; some loyal persons crept  
Into the first elections, which so vexed  
Her Excellence and others, that perplexed  
She in much passion clamours, and cries, oh  
We shall have a fine Parliament, I trow,  
If such elections pass; and to prevent  
The like elsewhere, a proclamation's sent  
From the then Council, whereby 'tis decreed  
That ev'ry officer, 'ere he proceed  
To an election, should this proclamation,  
With their late act of strict qualification,  
Proclaim and publish. Yet e'en to their faces  
The people much oppos't in many places,  
And chose such persons, as they loyal knew,  
But to prevent their sitting, there's a new  
Device amongst the Common-Wealth's men, that  
On the first day they'll early meet, and what  
But to prevent the Royalists, and then  
Make a Committee suddenly of men  
That should reject all such as were in fact  
Not qualified according to the Act.

This plot discover'd and prevented, all  
The loyal members meet, to business fall,  
Maugre such scruples, which are now decried,  
The royal party grows the stronger side.

But lets look back and see what did befall  
In this last Lent vacation's interval;  
First SIR JOHN ROBINSON, then the LORD MAYOR,  
The GENERAL freely feast (and to keep fair)  
All his field-officers. To please their eyes  
And appetites, at several halls likewise  
They're nobly entertained, where (by design)  
Speeches and songs are fitted to incline  
Them to a loyal temper; everywhere  
Country and city Royalists declare  
All animosities to lay aside,  
And in a friendly manner to abide  
With what th' ensuing Parliament should do,  
Which mov'd the soldiers to assent thereto

By much the more; but now, ere they're awist,  
 LAMBERT, the GENERAL's antagonist,  
 Escapes out of the Tower, and all amain,  
 Draws to him all the forces he can gain  
 From out th' old English regiments, which lay  
 Quarter'd in several counties, by which way  
 (Had he not timely been suppress and taken)  
 He might the army probably have shaken.

But this so strange and sudden accident  
 Wrought good effects for us in the event;  
 For now the General perceived that he  
 Could not confide in all the soldiery,  
 Many of whom stood to uphold the sword  
 In LAMBERT's way; and how, with one accord,  
 The people, yea, the Presbyterians, all  
 With one consent inclined to stand or fall  
 By what th' ensuing Parliament should act,  
 Which they unanimously hope in fact  
 Would soon restore the KING, the only way  
 To a just settlement, which ev'ry day  
 They saw perverted, and new projects found  
 To lay the nation level with the ground,  
 Which they could not endure, but all about  
 The spirit raised by BOOTH afresh breaks out.

Now tell me, all ye scribblers, which way would  
 Ye have the General turn? Think ye he could  
 Have taken any course but what he did,  
 T' accept the grace so freely offered  
 Unto him from his Liege, in such a season,  
 When as necessity as well as reason  
 Inforc'd him to 't, and the reward so great  
 As for an outside service rarely yet  
 The like hath been, which (as I think) ought he  
 And 's party to ascribe unto the free  
 Transcendent bounty of their gracious MASTER,  
 And not to their own merit, such a plaster  
 (Whatsoever quack applied it) will not heal,  
 Or cover what they seek so to conceal,  
 By telling half a story, hardly that,  
 And all so maimed and mangled, who knows what  
 To make on 't? Leaving out what is most true,  
 And interposing ev'rywhere some new  
 Inventions false and feigned, to uphold  
 Their cause and party, grown so over-bold  
 As to applaud each other, when we know  
 Their KING or COUNTRY little to them owe,  
 For anything that's worthy commendation;  
 Nor can I yield them any approbation  
 In what they to themselves so arrogate,  
 Nor would I in the least wise derogate

From any, dead or living, and detest  
Indifferent things to an ill sense to wrest.

Nor do I speak thus since the Duke is dead ;  
Many can witness, they have heard and read  
As much from me in 's lifetime : still the same  
Is truth, although it sometimes meets with blame,  
Yet shall I not abandon 't, but disclose  
Much more thereof, when I shall write in prose  
What well I know, the world to undeceive,  
If God and his VICE-GERENT give me leave.

*Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum.*

#### MYSTERIA REVELATA.

A true, plain and impartial narrative and relation of several matters and transactions concerning his Majesty's late happy Restoration, with some other circumstantial matters and passages, precedent to, or consequent thereupon.

Faithfully collected in those times, and now evidently declared by the author, out of his own certain knowledge, observations and memorials. For the better information of all such as are lovers of truth.

*Veritas, temporis filia.*

Written 1674.

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Having by the especial mercy and providence of Almighty God—who in his infinite wisdom and goodness is oftentimes pleased for his own greater glory to raise up and enable weak and unworthy instruments to further and effect his great and wonderful works—had the opportunity and happiness to be not only privy to, but active in some material passages and matters conducing to the late long expected Restoration of his now most sacred Majesty to his rightful crowns and dominions, and having thereupon received not only the serious advice and direction of certain reverend Divines and other honourable and worthy persons, lovers of truth and loyalty, but also their strict charge and injunction—which I may not neglect—that I should for the better information of future ages—if not the present—set down and leave in writing some memorials of such things as I know relating to the matters above-mentioned, as I shall more particularly declare hereafter, I could not, with any satisfaction to myself or others, any longer forbear *liberare animam*, but out of such notes and memorials as I heretofore took of those transactions, to transcribe and commit to writing this ensuing narrative, without any such artificial colours or varnish as some have misrepresented their stories in, but in that plain, clear and naked way as best suits with venerable Truth.

And herein I shall not in the least unjustly arrogate to myself or derogate from others. And though I may sometimes spare to speak the whole truth of what I know, yet in what I shall say or write, I profess before God and men, it shall be the truth and nothing but the truth, according to my own knowledge and certain information in the times and matters which I shall treat of. And in so doing, I am not ignorant of that saying, as commonly true as it is old, *obsequium amicos*\* [*veritas odium parit*, whereby I shall have cause to dread that danger of tracing truth too near the heels, and withal, considering how the minds of very many are prepossessed with the plausible reports, histories and writings of others, which have passed under high approbation and authorities and thereby gained an advantageous opinion and reputation with the world, that it will not be an easy matter now to obtain any credit or regard to what shall be said or written, different or contrary thereunto. Yet howsoever, knowing my own sincere intentions herein, and that whatsoever my weaknesses may be in my manner of writing, yet there is virtue in that divine sentence, *magna est veritas, et prævalebit*, I am not without hope that these plain and unpolished relations, with the truth revealed in them, will find some acceptance at least with loyal and uninterested persons, whose favourable and good opinion I most of all affect and esteem.

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1674—In the summer 1659 there were quartered upon me at Stanmore several officers and soldiers of Lambert's army, in their return that way from the defeat of Sir George Booth, by whose discourse I understood that they had deep designs to make such an alteration in the Government, both as to such a Church and State as was then left, as I thought would be opposed by many others; and observing also the several letters, declarations and passages that had been lately before between General Monk and his late fellow Commissioner Fleetwood, and also Lambert and his party, whereby it appeared that tho' all differed among themselves, yet] they did all *convenire in aliquo tertio*, as against the King, to keep him from his right that so they might share and divide all amongst them, and observing how the then Rump Parliament and Lambert and his party began to differ, so that there were like to be great and open breaches between them, thus contending for Empire, and withal revolving in my mind the late ill success of Sir George Booth and his party, as likewise of divers other Royalists upon the like attempts, whereby they had only occasioned their own sad ruin and the strengthening of the adverse party by their sequestered estates, and how difficult it would be by any such conjunction of the Royalists to effect their desires, but that it might more probably be done by keeping open and widening

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\* At this point eight leaves of the MS. have been cut out. The passage within square brackets is inserted in the margin in Dr. George Clarke's handwriting.

the breaches and divisions already begun between the Republicans and such different sects and parties as then contended for domination, according to the old advice, *divide et impera*, it pleased God (from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed) to put it into my mind and thoughts in my then solitary retirement, how that now there was a good opportunity for me to send my eldest son into Scotland to my nephew Clark, then secretary there to General Monck, as aforesaid, to observe how matters went there and to give me advertisement as occasion should be, whereby possibly something might in time be brought about which might be at least preparatory and subservient to the so long contended for restitution of his Majesty. And accordingly resolving so to do, I prepared my son for the journey. But the passages by land being then stopped, he was forced to betake himself to a way of passage by sea, and in order thereunto about Allhallowtide, 1659, he contracted with one Greenlowe, a Scotchman, who knew my nephew and had then a ship on the Thames ready to set forth for Leith, but was stayed some weeks after before it could get away hence, and then afterwards some searches and examinations were made of the passengers at Gravesend and elsewhere, which put my son to some charge to free himself, and so after a pursuit at sea by a Dutch caper and after a dangerous tempest which carried them far off northwards, they at last arrived at Leith about the third of January, when General Monck was upon his march for England, and my son hastened by post and overtook him at Berwick, where my nephew Clark joyfully received him and soon after brought him to the General, at whose table he was entertained in all his march hitherwards and observed as much of their actions and intendments as he could. And as the General came forwards towards London, and was, as he passed through several counties, petitioned to for a free Parliament, my son wrote to me of it and of other remarkable passages at that time, of all which and of other transactions amongst the remnant members then sitting at Westminster, with some of whom I had some acquaintance and converse as occasion served, I made the best observations I could in order to my intended designs. And upon some further overtures and advices from my son I resolved to meet and attend the General Monck before he came near London, and therewith I acquainted my familiar friend, Mr. Robert Harleston, a loyal gentleman, who was then secretary to the Speaker Lenthall, who informed his master, the Speaker, of it and of my relation then attending the General, whereupon the Speaker sent for me by Mr. Harleston, and upon discourse with me, finding me vexed with the high carriage of Sir Arthur Haselrigge everywhere, he freely imparted to me his resentment to this effect, how Sir Arthur Haselrigge and his party, whereof Scott was one of the chief, though then absent with Mr. Robinson to attend the General, did assume to themselves the main, if not sole power to govern

the House and the nation, and impose what oaths and taxes they pleased, howsoever displeasing to the more sober party; that if at any time any of them spoke of General Monck, Haselrigge would not endure to hear him called by that title; and that it was apparent that he and his party intended to engage him to carry on their ill designs by violence, or to lessen or cast him off. Whereupon I telling him what I had heard to the like purpose, the Speaker willed me to advise the General from him not to make any offers—as he had done—to give up his commission, lest they should take him at his word, nor to make overmuch haste into London until the present forces there were sent away and the House brought to some better temper, whereby he might have some power amongst them, with more to the like effect. And in the close, I moved him that to introduce me the better with the General, he would be pleased to give me his letter to him. He assented to it, and thereupon Mr. Harleston and I drew the letter and the Speaker signed it; the effect thereof was for credence to be given to me by the General in what I should say to him, whereupon being there furnished, and with some other advices, I rode forth of London on Thursday morning, the 26th of January, 1659[-60], accompanied with one Mr. Raulins, allied to Colonel Whetham, who was also well known to me and whom we expected to find, as we did, with the General. The first night we lodged at Dunstable, and the next morning riding onwards early towards Stony Stratford we met returning thence towards London the City Commissioners, who, as I afterwards heard, went not off well satisfied from the General. And soon after we met my son and nephew coming on some distance before the General, who came after with Scott and Robinson in their caroch, and was to dine with them that day at their inn at Dunstable, where, a little before dinner, my nephew brought me to present my service and thanks to the General, which I did for his favours to my son and nephew, who received me kindly in the presence of Scott, Robinson, Whetham and others; and I dining with them, Scott drank to me, and after dinner vouchsafed to compliment me and to offer me any service (as he phrased it) that he might do for me or my son, whom some supposed (as I after understood) I designed to prefer to some service under the General, which was a great mistake. After dinner ended, I withdrew with my son to my nephew's lodging, where he showed me the instructions given to Wilks, Knight and Clobery to treat with Lambert's Commissioners, which were positive against the Royal family and monarchy, and he also acquainted me with some other special matters of privacy, and I telling him how I came not only to visit, but that I had some special concerns to impart to the General when I might have a fit opportunity to speak freely and privately with him, which I understood could not well be until the evening, in the interim I desired my nephew to inform me in some things, and, *inter alia*, how the General inclined as in point of religion, which

he told me was altogether for the Presbyterian way, but to keep them subject to the civil power as he had done in Scotland. And as for Government, he assured me the General was entirely for a Commonwealth and against monarchy, which indeed I doubted not, having seen and read his many several letters, declarations and protestations, and also his answer to his countrymen of Devon. And therefore he willed me to be wary that I did not discover myself to him to be a Royalist, for then he would be shy of me and avoid me, wherein I resolved to be as cautious as I could.

After this some of the General's chief officers and counsellors in his affairs being in my nephew's chamber and discoursing of the hot encounter that had been that morning with the gentlemen of Buckinghamshire that at Stony Stratford had petitioned the General for a free Parliament, and how that Colonel Lydcott had told Sir Richard Temple there how he would fain hold a trencher again to a single person, as he had done to Oliver, but it must not be, whereupon it being said by one that such petitioners deserved to be sequestered, it was said by another that such a course might provoke the people to rise and raise much trouble, one of the chief of them thereupon said he wished that they would rise, for it would be for the advantage of their party, who he doubted not would give them a rout, and then they should have the more power over them and their estates, for they were sure all the purchasers of Crown lands and Church lands would side with the army, with other discourses to the like purpose, whereby I somewhat understood their inclinations, though I thought it not fit then to contradict, but to hear their sentiments. And indeed I soon afterwards understood more fully that it was resolved by Scott and his party—if they had gone on successfully in their designs—to have sequestered the estates of all those petitioners and such as abetted or favoured them, which I had the more reason to believe for that upon that short discourse which Scott had that afternoon vouchsafed me, he was so full of passion that he could not but tell me how at Stony Stratford they had been troubled with such a company of petitioners as had raised a tumult upon him, but they should find that an order should be taken with them, or to that effect. And I saying that it seemed they were very earnest to have the secluded members re-admitted, he very magisterially said to this effect that the Parliament had adjudged it otherwise, and that was enough for all men to know and obey, whereby I perceived his imperious resolutions and how useful it was for me to use my utmost endeavours to take off the General from complying with him and his party, which I resolved not to be wanting in, especially seeing I had the Speaker's credential letter for me, whereby I might be the more free in saying what I thought fit and necessary to his Excellency.

And now the evening approaching and the General being returned to his own inn from Scott and Robinson, the two Parliament Commissioners—as they were called—and his Ex-



cellency being at leisure, as I was told, my nephew conducted me up into his chamber, where I found him standing by the fireside with Colonel Whetham and Mr. Gumble, whom I wished further off. Whetham I had known many years before, as baker to the Inner Temple and being always affected to Presbyterian ministers and meetings, and so averse to Bishops and monarchy. He went forth at first in some command under Captain Browne—afterwards Alderman—became a Colonel, and then Governor of Portsmouth, and after he was removed thence, he was for some years a Commissioner with Monk and others for the Government of Scotland, and then lately again restored to be Governor of Portsmouth, whither Haselrigge, Walton, Morley and other members of the late remnant Parliament, dissolved by Lambert, had resorted to him, and from whence, as Colonel Whetham told me, they had sent for Monck to come up with his forces out of Scotland for their assistance. As for Gumble I had not seen him before that day, but had heard too much of him, as having been sometime a seditious Sermocinator at Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, near to Marlow, where Scott sometime lived, who afterwards preferred him to be chaplain to the Commissioners in Scotland, between whom and the Rump Parliament he was sometimes employed in some messages, and some orders passed there to remember him with some reward for his services, which his patron Scott did not so forget but that at his being thus with General Monck in his march towards London he obtained for Gumble the place of Scoutmaster General for the army, whereby he had large pay and the honour of a double title, suitable to his spotted motley composition. But to leave these two odd companions, my nephew having whispered his Excellency how I desired to speak privately with him, he then withdrew to a window, where I presented him the Speaker's letter, which he read very regardfully, and then, asking me what I had to say to him further, I began to tell him how Mr. Speaker willed me to inform his Excellency how matters went untowardly amongst them in the Parliament, especially for that Sir Arthur Haselrigge and his party—whereof Mr. Scott was one of the chief, when he was amongst them—did contrary to the votes of the more sober and substantial party assume to themselves the whole power and ordering of matters in the House and nation, and of imposing what taxes and oaths they pleased. And that—as he understood them—they designed to usurp the sole government of the nation, and to perpetuate it to a few of them; that they had caused an oath of abjuration to be framed, and ordered it to be taken by everyone of the Council of State before he should take his place, which Mr. Nevill and some such of the most violent and inconsiderable persons had taken, but the more sober and substantial persons refused it, as having been already—as they said—overburdened with oaths; and that he wished his Excellency to decline the taking that oath; that the City of London refused to pay the taxes lately imposed by that imperious party,

as declaring they would not be taxed or governed by so few, but insisted upon it to have the secluded members readmitted or a free Parliament called; that, if his Excellency adhered to Haselrigge's party, he would hardly get moneys to pay his soldiers but by such violent courses as that predominant party would put him upon to make him as odious as themselves, and then perhaps throw him off, for that already Haselrigge could not endure to hear him called General by anyone in the House, but would presently startle at it and ask whom they meant and angrily say that he was no more General than himself was. And therefore the Speaker advised him that he should not make any more offers of laying down his commission, lest they should take him at his word, but to keep his power and forces sure to him, and that until the House were better settled, he should not make too much haste towards London. In all which his Lordship vouchsafing to hear me willingly—as I perceived—I then adventured to superadd how the sober party of the House and the City of London and people generally in the nation did expect and hope, as I presumed his Lordship perceived by their application to them on his march hitherwards, that he would be a means to free them from the domination of this party, who envied him the good opinion which the people conceived of him, and that they had no good intentions towards him, and that Mr. Scott's oldest son William had discovered so much publicly in his late discourses in Westminster Hall concerning him, where he said that his wings must be clipped and that he should not be permitted to come into London with his forces but be kept off at some distance to be ordered as the Parliament or Council of State should see fit. And I also went on and told his Excellency that howsoever Scott and Robinson were sent as to attend him, yet it was conceived to be rather out of envy to him, hearing what applications were made to him, and to watch him as spies than for any good will towards him, and therefore such as wished his Lordship well thought it concerned him to be wary of them and to look to his own preservation, with which discourse his Lordship seemed to be somewhat affected and told me that he would not willingly come into London without his forces, whereupon I saying that there were several companies of soldiers in London, which was under the command of the then powerful party, and that unless they were first removed and sent further off, I doubted that his Excellency would not find any convenient or very quiet quarter amongst them there for his soldiers, and that I doubted not but if his Excellency would write to the Speaker he would use endeavours for an order of the House to remove those soldiers into the countries, and so to make room for his forces at London, this the General so well liked that he told me he would write to the Speaker about it, and that he would the next morning—being Saturday—go no further than St. Alban's, but stay there until Thursday following, by which time his forces would be come all together from the

several roads, and then he would march to Barnett, where he desired me to meet him again. And so for that time I took my leave of his Lordship, who—as I was told—immediately called his secretary and officers together, and wrote and signed his letter to the Speaker to the purpose before mentioned. Howsoever, to entitle Mr. Clarges to be the author of it, as he must—forsooth—of all material actions, it is said by his friend the author of the *Continuation* of Sir Richard Baker's History, page 741, that it was penned by Mr. Clarges at Nottingham about the 20th of January before, and there approved of and signed by the General, but agreed by him and Clarges that it should not be sent till he came to St. Alban's for reasons there expressed, which are very improbable, though seemingly cunning. And this letter so drawn and signed, too, was with two blanks left in it, the first being for the messenger's name (not then thought of, as it seems), and the last was a blank for the day when the General's forces would be drawn to Barnet, which probably was not at Nottingham so long forethought of. But the Continuator, page 743, agrees that these blanks were filled up at Barnett, and then he proceeds to tell us what thoughts the General had by whom to send this letter, as whether by Major Knight, Clarges or Secretary Clarke. And to introduce a reason for Clarges not to carry that letter, it was judged more expedient that he (forsooth) should be sent before to prepare a party in the House, whereas within two lines after, it is said that Lydcott, who is allied to the Speaker, was sent away in the evening; and sure I am, Clarges was not sent away before, but he staid long after, that is to say, all that Saturday and the night following at St. Alban's, and the next day, being Sunday, the 29th of January, he, with my nephew and Doctor Barrowe, came and dined with me at my house at Stanmore, being about eight miles distant from St. Alban's, twelve miles from London, and went not thence towards London until after dinner, so that Colonel Lydcott was a very slow messenger if he were not at London a day or more before Mr. Clarges. But before I leave St. Alban's quite, take this remark, that when I came in there with my nephew on Saturday before noon, we found Hugh Peters *in querpo*\* like a jack pudding bustling up and down there in the market, and as soon as the General came he presently put himself into his attendance, and saying grace at the table at dinner, I remember he prayed for a defecated Gospel, an expression fit for such a carnal Gospeller, and declaring himself to be one of the General's chaplains he made claim to preach before him on the morrow, which he did accordingly, and doubtless to little good purpose, but I heard him not, and went away to my own house as aforesaid on Saturday after dinner. And thus Mr. Clarges departing from us at Stanmore on Sunday afternoon, the 29th of January, 1659[60], and not before, and then also—as he said—to go and prepare at Whitehall for the reception of his sister, the General's lady, who was then coming or come

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\* "tripped of the upper garment" (Halliwell).

from Scotland by sea, I stayed with my nephew and Doctor Barrowe at Stanmore until the next forenoon, when they with my son returned thence to St. Alban's, and I rode to London, where, after I had given the Speaker an account of my actings, which he very well liked, and I had also spoken with some other friends, who told me how sad the citizens were, for that their Commissioners returned with no better satisfaction from the General, and how they dreaded his coming up to London with his forces and joining with that predominant party in the House, against whose government and imposing taxes they had already protested, I went the next day to the Exchange, where I met and conferred with divers of the chief citizens, who seemed very disconsolate, but I so far persuaded them not to fear the General's coming amongst them, for I hoped it would be for their good, that I remember how some amongst them said that it was the most comfortable news that they had heard a great while and that it was a cordial to them. And upon my telling them how the General had declared to me that he would on the Thursday morning following march from St. Alban's to Barnet if they had any further address to make to him there, it was soon after resolved amongst them that on that Thursday forenoon a select company of the chiefest young citizens should then attend the General with a petition for a free Parliament, &c., which they accordingly did, and I there met them and several other citizens of worth that I knew and thenceforth corresponded with them.

And some time before dinner at Barnet, I coming up into the room where the General was with much company and standing near the lower end of it, his Excellency, spying me, came presently to me, and after some few words passed he charged me to dine with him and to take a time to speak more privately with him towards the evening, which I attended accordingly.

But in the interim Mr. Scott meeting me there, he looked very frowningly upon me, uttering these angry words to me, "Oh, are you come again? You take very great pains," and so went muttering away, which nothing troubled me although some near friends of mine that knew somewhat of my adventures wished me to take care that I kept my head upon my shoulders; and, doubtless, had I not been successful in carrying on my designs against him, he would have ruined me and mine. But his anger nothing daunted me, for I looked on it either as occasioned by some information that his scout Gumble—whom I always after found to be very malicious against me or any of the King's friends—had given him of my address to and discourse with the General at Dunstable, or that Scott had since found the General not so fast to him as he thought formerly, which rather rejoiced and animated me to go on the more stoutly against him than any way to slack or be discouraged by it.

And towards the evening I, finding the General freed from

company, brought to him his countryman, Mr. Thomas Carew, of the Inner Temple—now Sir Thomas Carew—a worthy loyal gentleman of Devonshire, who, after some discourse and drinking of a bottle of sack together, parting from the General, I had an opportunity of freely discoursing with him and informing him how affairs went in the House of Commons and how the Speaker willed me to let him know that Sir Arthur and his party had proposed among themselves to allow his Excellency, after he should come to Whitehall, ten pounds a day for his dinner, but the Speaker advised him by no means to accept of it, for if he did it would be a snare to him and a means to keep him in a perpetual slavery to that faction, of whom he should be sure to have some of them always with him at the table to watch over him and such as should come to him, and so to keep him on still subservient to these ends. And upon his Lordship asking me if the soldiers were all removed out of town, I told him how I understood the soldiers that were quartered at Somerset House and St. James' were very loath to remove thence, though others were gone or upon going into countries, whereto the General answered that if they were not gone the next day before he came he would send them going without pay.

And finding his Excellency very inclinable to hear me I proceeded to tell him how at my late going from him to London I found the citizens generally very sad and discontented; and he asking me wherefore, I presumed to tell him how that before their Commissioners had attended him they had some hopes that his Excellency would have relieved them from those pressures and taxes the now ruling faction in the Parliament imposed upon them, and to whom they could not submit, but now they doubted his Excellency would be drawn to join with them against the city, which, if so, they were undone and the whole nation would likewise suffer with them. Wherewith his Excellency seeming somewhat touched, I went on to tell him (as the truth was) that I had laboured with divers chief citizens to persuade them otherwise, and that howsoever his Lordship did not perhaps declare himself so freely to their Commissioner as they expected, yet I presumed to assure them that he had good intentions towards them and that they would shortly find that he came for their good and not to their hurt, whereat they seemed very willing to entertain any such hopes and showed a very great readiness to serve his Excellency in any way they might, by raising money for him and his soldiers, though not to pay the taxes imposed upon them by Haselrigge and his party, with which discourse his Excellency seemed well pleased, and I spared not to put him in mind of how great concernment it would be for him to keep in with the City of London and not to be carried on against them by Sir Arthur and Scott and that predominant faction, who presuming of his Excellency's concurrence with them did so overrule the more sober party in the Parliament and usurp

the whole government to themselves that they incensed not only the City, but the best part of the whole nation against them, and that they would doubtless endeavour to engage his Excellency (if he were not aware) in some violent action, whereby to make him as odious as themselves, and then it would be the more in their power to throw him off or to do what they pleased with him, whereas if his Excellency would comply with the city it would be so grateful to them and the whole nation that he might then stand on his own legs, and having the citizens' hearts and affections he should also have their purses at command, so that he would not want pay for his soldiers or any other accommodation, whereas otherwise he must be an executioner of such unreasonable orders or commands as that faction would lay upon him, and so should get nothing from the citizens or others but what he could rend from them by violence, and how long such a course would last or what might be the end of it I left to his Lordship to consider. All which and more I profess I then urged to his Excellency with more serious earnestness than I can now express by writing, and as I then hoped, it made some impression on him, in the close of which discourse his Excellency was pleased to tell me how he intended the next morning to march with his forces towards Westminster by Chancery Lane, purposely to salute the Speaker there at his house at the Rolls, and willed me to let him know so much. And thus we fairly parted that evening, and I retired to my nephew and son and to some honest citizens that stayed there that night, to whom I gave as comfortable assurances as I could or durst of the General's good intentions towards them.

But that night some messenger or posts, as they passed by Barnet, brought intelligence to Scott of some insurrection and troubles arising in London, which so alarmed him that he arose out of his bed and came much affrighted with it about midnight or somewhat after to the General, and would have had him to have risen and marched away presently with his forces to London. But he, not so easily terrified, thought fit to stay till the morning, and then preparing to draw his soldiers together I came away early to give the Speaker notice of his Excellency's intended visit of him, as directed. But the Speaker, being held somewhat long in the House before they rose, the General had passed with his friends through Chancery Lane and was come into the Strand, where before Somerset House I saw him and the Speaker meet and salute one another, and soon after the Speaker visited him and conferred with him. And from thenceforth I was daily with them, and employed upon all occasions between them. And here let me interpose this, that upon my coming thus from Barnet to London I found that the alarm given at Barnet the night before the General's coming from thence was not altogether without ground, for that night there was a great insurrection in the City, drums beaten and printed papers thrown about to

invite the citizens to stand up for their liberties and for a free Parliament, one of which printed declarations I gave the General soon after his coming to Whitehall, that he might see how doubtful some of the citizens were of his Lordship's intentions and what they still desired.

On the Monday following, being the 6th of February, the Commissioner Monck—as all the Parliament orders then styled him—was conducted into the House of Commons, where what the Speaker said to him and what his answer was is set forth fully enough by the Continuator, with some advantageous comments, &c., not here to be repeated. But notwithstanding all the acts and actings of Haselrigge and Scott the citizens of London still persisted in their declared resolutions in their Common Council not to pay any public taxes until the House should be filled up with equal representatives, which Scott and his party could not brook.

On Thursday morning following, being the 9th of February, very early, my son—who continued to lodge with my nephew at Whitehall—came to me at the Temple in his riding habit, whereof I asking him the reason he told me very sadly how the Council of State had sat up almost all that night, and had given the General orders to march with his army into London and to do some strange things there, and desired my directions whether he should go with him or not, whereto I answered that he should take his horse and attend close on him and observe how matters passed; and that I would go to Westminster and enquire how affairs went there, and would not fail to come and attend the General in the City before noon.

At Westminster I found the most sober and considerable members very much amazed and dejected with the General's going as he did into London, and that Scott and his party now insulted and told them how they must now come over and join with them, for their General Monck was now so engaged as he could not come off, but must adhere to them, with other such like passages, as I there observed.

And about eleven forenoon I went towards the Guildhall, where I found that the General's dinner was preparing at the Three Tuns tavern, but himself was not then come in from the Court of Aldermen convened that forenoon. But about twelve, he coming in with his officers and seeing me in the rooms, he presently came to me and asked me what news abroad, whereto, between grief and anger, I very plainly answered him in these or the very like words, "Alas, my Lord, how can you expect any good news from me now, seeing I find your Lordship engaged in such an action as I always feared and desired your Lordship to beware of," and told him how much all people were amazed at it, and his friends of the Parliament were much dejected and insulted on by Scott and his party, who now vaunted that they had made him sure enough to their party and power, which I wished he could free himself from, with other such expostulations, as my passion

then made me very bold to utter to him, whereat his Excellency, seeming somewhat troubled and excusing the necessity of this action, drank to me a glass of sack, and dinner coming in he made me sit down and dine with him and at dinner drank to me again. And as soon as dinner was over, and after a little more discourse with me, he caused a letter to be written to the Parliament by his secretary, Clarke, in such manner as is set forth in the *Continuation*, whereupon followed such an answer and such effects as are therein also expressed. Whereat, sure I am, that some of the officers whom I had conversed with declared to the General their high discontents and unwillingness to act against the City, and some citizens of the General's kindred and friends—whom I had formerly met and conversed with at Barnet and elsewhere—were so nettled that they did now plainly declare that if the General went on to do such things they would no more serve under him, or to the like effect.

And here, although I affect not to be an observator of all the misrepresentations or fictions wherewith that partial history styled the *Continuation* is full fraught, but only of such wherein I am knowing and concerned, yet I cannot but observe a very great error in that the author there makes the speech of Mr. Jolly to the General to be the ground and occasion of his writing as he did to the House of Commons, whereas in very truth I may say (without arrogance) that that letter was written merely upon my dealing so roundly with the General as I did. And sure I am, that he so wrote to the House immediately after dinner on Thursday, and received their further orders that very afternoon to proceed in beating down the gates and portcullises, which was accordingly done that evening, and was so well known that it is not any way to be contradicted. And it was also as true and well known to many that Mr. Jolly came not to the General until that evening and the morrow morning after, when those things were done and overpast, so that the letter which was written immediately after dinner could not be upon Mr. Jolly's address to the General, which was not till the evening and morrow after; and then indeed Mr. Jolly came to the General and spoke to him to very good purpose, as became so prudent and discreet a citizen, from whose worth and merit in it I would no ways derogate, but only desire that the truth might be rightly presented and understood. And indeed some reason of the mistake might be, because Mr. Clarges was not then there or so conversant with the General as is pretended.

But to return; this violent breach upon the City in imprisoning such and so many of their citizens and breaking down their gates brought such an amazement and discontent amongst them that in that evening many loyal persons, as Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Smith and divers of their military officers and other considerable persons, convened together at a tavern, where they were pleased to take me



in amongst them, and some discourses passed concerning their then present troubles. And amongst them one Major Taylor—as he was then called—being a very civil well-spoken gentleman and formerly acquainted with me, and knowing me to have some usual access to the General, took me from that good company to another tavern, where Mr. Richard Ford, a very loyal prudent gentleman—now Sir Richard Ford, Alderman—then was or met us.

And therefore I think the author of the *Continuation* is also somewhat mistaken in page 746, where he affirms Mr. Ford to be one of the nine citizens imprisoned by the General that morning. But passing that by, at this conference with Mr. Ford and Major Taylor I understood how ready the City and some particular persons in it would be to supply the General with money if he would comply with their reasonable desires, wherewith I afterwards acquainted his Excellency, and as for Mr. Ford and Major Taylor I found them to be such loyal worthy persons, and so active and ready to further anything conducing to his Majesty's service in the City, that henceforth I held much correspondence with them and we often met and consulted together upon several occasions, as hereafter will appear.

And now the House of Commons, having by their votes sent to the General on Thursday before mentioned dissolved the then Common Council of London, whereby the General could not expect any meeting of them the next morning, as he had signified in his letter to the Parliament, he then returns from his quarter out of the City—where he and his forces were not then very welcome—unto his former quarters at Whitehall, where I attended him, and he causing all others to withdraw out of the room, his Lordship began to ask me how matters went, whereupon I told him how much the Speaker was troubled with what was lately imposed on his Excellency to act against the City, and how he had thereby weakened and discouraged his best friends and given his adversaries a greater power of him than before they had, and that it might be feared they would make use of it accordingly, for that very day on which they sent his Lordship into London it was so plotted that Praise-God Barebone, with his fanatic party, presented a petition to the House for an oath of Renunciation to be taken by all such as should be employed in any civil or military offices or affairs, which I told his Lordship was looked upon as a design to remove all such as would not comply with their ways and oaths, which how far it might concern his Excellency and the commanders and soldiers under him, I left to his consideration, as likewise how the high Rumpers had dealt with him and slighted him in other respects, whereat his Lordship seemed so troubled that his countenance was sad, and as it were despondent, and after some pause he asking me how it might be holpen, it then pleased God to put it into my mind to propound that to him, which I had long designed and desired

in these or the like words: My Lord, you see how ill you are used by this predominant party in the House, and what an odious service they have lately put you upon and what use they make of it to your disadvantage and danger, and how they will probably so proceed if they be not stopped and prevented. Whereto his Lordship giving heed he asked me how that might be, whereupon I told him that there was one expedient left yet, if he would speedily make use of it, which he presently asking what that was, I told him it was for him to return into the City and declare for a free Parliament, and to re-admit the secluded members as soon as he could, which he well knew he had been in many places petitioned for, and by that means he would oblige the City and the whole nation to him, and gain such a plurality of voices in the Parliament as would oversway his adversaries and carry all before them, and so strengthen and advance him that he need not then stand at the pleasure of this high imperious party, but that he might then be over them, and so be even what he pleased. At which words and advice, I protest seriously I saw his very countenance change and become more cheerful than before, and so exciting him to make present use of this expedient I left him then in a good pleasant way, and came thither again in the evening, when I found he was then busy in calling together his officers and advising with them what to do the next day, in order to regain the good opinion of the City and in writing to the Parliament, which kept them up somewhat late that night to order and finish all, as they did, to my great rejoicing, who could not then rest elsewhere, but stayed there all night with my nephew and son.

And here also, I cannot but observe another strange fiction in the author of the *Continuation*, where, page 746, to introduce Mr. Clarges (forsooth) to be the sole adviser of the General's return into the City—as he must be or would be thought to be of all great and grateful actions—it is said that the General on Friday in the evening came back out of London to Whitehall, and then, page 747, that on that evening Clarges privately went to the General and made such a solemn and pathetical speech to him as is set forth by the Continuator, in *totidem verbis*, and I wonder how he should so come by it. Surely he was not present at the hearing of it at so private a conference. But Mr. Clarges might give him the copy, true, but it is rare that Mr. Clarges should so pen his private speeches to the General, which doubtless is a great fiction, as many other such pretensions are, for I protest upon my faith that I fully and freely, as is before declared, did that very day before I dined, so discourse with and advise the General, as is before declared. And it is also true that the General thereupon did soon after convene his officers, so that probably Mr. Clarges was—amongst others—rather called upon or sent for to the General, than that he came, as is pretended, so privately with his advice in that evening.

And now the General, having the next day dined with the Lord Mayor and—by Clarges' advice, as the Continuator must say—procured the Aldermen and Common Council to meet him at Guildhall at four in the afternoon, and there declared his having sent to the Parliament that morning to issue out writs for filling up the House, &c., I attended his Lordship coming forth from the Council that evening, where the hall and rooms above being full thronged with citizens of all sorts, rejoicing at the welcome news of filling up the Parliament, his Lordship at his coming forth laid his hand upon my right arm, and so I had the ushering of him downstairs into and through the hall, where the people generally cried out, "God bless your Lordship," and through that throng I showed him to his caroch, standing in the yard, whence his Lordship sent me back to the Council of Aldermen to know of them where he should quarter. Which message I accordingly delivered, and when I came to the General to the Bull's Head tavern in Cheapside—where his Lordship stayed awhile, sending away letters to the commanders abroad to satisfy them what he had done and why—which was indeed because he could not otherwise have gotten money to pay and keep up his forces, his Lordship took a glass of sack and drank to me, saying that I was his true friend, with other such kind expressions, and so leaving my son still to attend him, I took leave and departed between ten and eleven at night, when the town was generally filled with joyful acclamations, ringing of bells, making of bonfires, &c.

And here—amongst this mirth—let me also intermix a merry passage, which was this: As I came from delivering my message from the General to the Court of Aldermen and was returned into the Guildhall yard, I was met by my friend Capt. Toby Frere, who having before observed me ushering the General and being a great man with him, as he said, he desired me to tell him some good news, and would not suffer me to pass but I must needs drink a glass of sack with him at the Three Tuns tavern, which I, then sweating, accepted at the bar, and hastening to return to the General and putting my hand in my pocket to pay for the wine, I found that all my money was gone, which doubtless was by some pickpocket as I was ushering the General along the throng, whereupon I saying that now I had no money I was not fit company for anyone, the captain presently put five shillings into my hand. But afterwards, as I was going homewards from the General's quarters through St. Paul's churchyard and the boys at the bonfires there asked me for somewhat towards the roasting of the Rump—which was then taken up for a merry phrase in the town—and I putting my hand into my pocket for a piece of silver to give them, I found my five shillings was also gone, which I supposed was done at the Bull tavern door, where was a great throng as I entered in there. And thus my pocket was twice picked that night, which troubled me not, in regard of the good success of my endeavours; and when I came to the

Temple, where there was a bonfire made in the lane; I merrily upon my knees drank his Majesty's health there, amongst some loyal gentlemen, in hopes to see his Majesty shortly to return into England.

On the morrow, being Sunday, I attended his Excellency at his new quarter in part of Winchester House in Broad Street, where I dined with him, and after dinner, understanding upon conference with my good friend, Major Taylor, that a great quantity of arms which had been delivered formerly out of the stores to Vane and his party were then in the hands or power of some fanatics (of which sort of people his Excellency had no good opinion) I brought the Major to the General and by that means obtained warrants for the seizing and taking such arms from them, and other the like offices I did from time to time as occasion required.

And as I was daily employed in messages and correspondences between the General and the Speaker, and had ready admission unto either of them in their bedchambers or elsewhere and free liberty of conference with them at all hours, so I neglected not often meetings and consultations with Mr. Ford, Major Taylor and other loyal friends of the City, who thought it best to have the General to leave his then quarter at Winchester House and to remove to the house of Sir William Wale, near to and opening into Drapers' Hall, where there was room near him for his own entertainments and also to receive and keep his guard of soldiers about him, which was accordingly effected, and his Excellency lodged and was kindly treated in that house, where Sir William Wale and his lady and relations, being long approved Royalists, showed great kindness to all the General's servants and other friends that were well affected, and where upon occasion of my often late attendances upon the General I sometimes lodged, and there I observed how Scott and several persons of his party came and solicited the General to return thence to Whitehall, which I conceived to be for no good purpose, and therefore I did daily by myself and by the loyal party in the City still dissuade the General from it, and so fixed him to remain where he was notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, which that party perceiving, there came soon after from them—as I conceived—Mr. Clarges, and earnestly pressed me not to urge the General's stay there but that he might repair to Whitehall, where it was more requisite and convenient for him, with much more to the like purpose, which moved not me to assent to what he said for several reasons, as I then told him. And so Mr. Clarges not prevailing, the General still remained there, and in a day or two after his lady also came thither to him and was kindly received and lodged in the same house, and was pleased to take such notice of me that she was very kind to me and would sometimes on a Sunday have me to go with her in her caroch to confer together with the Speaker, as we did.

And thither also to Sir William Wale's house soon after

came Mr. Hugh Peters, and offered himself ready to preach before the General at Drapers' Hall, but I took the boldness privately to dissuade his Excellency from permitting it, and told him that now the citizens did neither affect Mr. Peters nor his doctrine, and so Mr. Peters was put off from his intended preachments, and did the more forbear his visits there, although afterwards he came sometimes and dined with the General at St. James'. But soon after this passage concerning Mr. Peters, I meeting with Mr. Ford and Major Taylor and acquainting them with it, we fell into a consultation what preacher to fit his Excellency and his lady with, which I told them must be Presbyterian and none else. And I having been lately told by Mr. John Scott, a servant to his now Majesty and then an agent for him here in London, and acquainted with my friend Mr. Harlestone, how upon some conference he had with Mr. Calamy he found him, as he conceived, weary of the late charges, and willing to close with the Royal party, or at least not averse to them, as indeed the Presbyterians generally then were, partly out of remorse of conscience for what they had done or been the cause of, as my charity persuades me, or for that they had been so lately so wearied with changes and affrighted by Lambert and his party, who intended to subvert or change the magistracy and ministry which the Presbyterians then possessed. Those two gentlemen presently agreed to introduce Mr. Calamy, being a neighbour near there, into the acquaintance and favour of the General and his lady, which accordingly was done; and it took such good effect with the lady that she had a high esteem of Mr. Calamy, called him cousin, and held a great friendship with him ever after, to his death, though possibly to his prejudice in some respects as the world thought.

But all the while I neglected not my continual solicitations by myself and friends for the General's restoring the secluded members to sit again in the Parliament, as conceiving it would be a good preparation for restoring his Majesty, &c.; and in order thereto did sometimes put his Lordship in mind what members were about the town fittest to be convened to treat withal. And I remember well how some of them, understanding from me how I solicited their readmittance by the General, drew together sometimes in the suburbs towards Westminster, whereupon the Speaker advised me to warn them to beware how they continued any such meetings about the west end of the town, for fear they should be interrupted or perhaps seized upon by order of the then Council or the yet prevailing party in the House, but rather to meet in London, and soon after some of those secluded members, whom I had named to the General with others, met and treated with him at Sir William Wale's house, where there was somewhat a hot debate in my hearing between some of them and one . . . Hutchinson, who there did in high words oppose their readmittance, which gave me cause to doubt whether all of them

who were then present seemed so well satisfied with that moderation and temper which they found in those gentlemen with whom they conferred as the author of the *Continuation* tells us page 749. Notwithstanding all which, matters being soon after agreed between the General and the secluded members, wherein it is not improbable but Mr. Clarges, Colonel Cloberry and the Scoutmaster Gumble, [were] now employed, as the Continuator says, to treat with those members especially for articles to keep up and pay the army, seeing they were all three of them concerned therein as officers and interested persons, it was resolved by the General that on Tuesday, 21st February, all the secluded members in or about the town, which were then very many, should meet him and some members of Parliament at his lodgings at Whitehall, and thence his guards should conduct them into the House of Commons. And in order to this there was prepared a studied speech and declaration, which the General was then to publish to them, which was printed and accordingly then published, which speech so spoken by the General, and the declaration then read also in his presence, by his Secretary Clarke, to the members of Parliament at Whitehall, I shall here transcribe verbatim, for that it is *instar omnium*, the very substance of the General's intentions declared in his former letters and declarations, and doubtless at this time was the very soul of his desires and endeavours. The consideration whereof I leave to all judicious and impartial readers, it being as followeth. [*Here follow the Speech and Declaration, which are printed in King's Pamphlets (E 1,016, No. 2), in Somers' Tracts, and elsewhere.*]

Which speech and declaration being so read and published, and the Speaker having told me that he would keep off from entering the House of Commons until he should understand that the secluded members were ready to come thither, it was accordingly so brought about and the secluded members re-admitted, whereat I did not a little rejoice, as not doubting then but by God's assistance (maugre all contrary designs and declarations) the long desired restoration of his Majesty and the Government would be happily in good time brought about and effected. And at this re-admittance of the secluded members it may safely be believed that Haselrigge, Scott and their party were not a little nettled, insomuch that in that afternoon they came all together in a great heat and discontent to the General at his lodgings at Whitehall, where I came in as they were confusedly parting from him, who as soon as I came in and they were gone, his Lordship taking me aside told me how those members had now told him that they would not join with the secluded members or act any more.

Whereat I confess I could not choose but smile, and merrily told his Lordship that it needed not to trouble him if they did not act any more, for there were enough now in the House to act without them. And that he should leave them now

to their ease, for they had acted enough if not too much already, and they could not now do his Lordship or his friends any great good or hurt, their reign being at an end.

And so, advising his Lordship to make good use of this opportunity, I left him. And soon after his Lordship found that what I had foretold him might follow for his settlement and advantage upon re-admission of the secluded members did succeed accordingly, for which he had some reason to look upon me as his friend. But my desires and endeavours tended to a further and higher end and purpose, when I was as cautious and reserved towards him as he was, or as the author of the *Continuation* would have us to believe him to be.

But to return to the City and my sure friends and correspondents there, upon some conference with them they told me of an intention they and the well-affected party in the City had—to keep on the General to them, who had now removed his quarter to St. James’—to invite and treat him and his lady and his field officers, and that in a public manner at several Halls, which I liked well as a means to allay their stomachs and to sweeten and temper their humours, wherein they proceeded accordingly. But first of all for an introduction, that exemplary loyal gentleman, Sir John Robinson, began and at his own house bestowed a very noble dinner on the General and his lady, friends and officers, amongst whom I was admitted by special ticket to be one, as I was at the other public entertainments, and afterwards Alderman Allen, then Lord Mayor, did the like, where Mr. Sanders, Duke and the rest of that company of musicians—whom I had formerly brought in to serve at the Temple—attending and singing some of their usual old songs, I took occasion to advise them to get some new songs and speeches fitted to those hopes we then had of better times, which was so minded that at the next entertainment after at Mercers’ Hall—of which company was Mr. Ford before named—there was after dinner a pretty pastoral. And soon after that at Clothworkers’ Hall—we growing a little more bold—one was brought in towards the latter end of dinner, uttering a speech in verse, well composed by my friend, Mr. Alexander Broome, and directed to the General, in the close whereof, comparing the General to St. George who freed the King’s daughter from the dragon, there were two lines to this purpose, “We’ll celebrate your name for ever after, If you’ll restore the King, as he’d the daughter.” All which, with the free entertainments, were so well digested that henceforth at every other Hall songs and speeches were uttered to the like purpose in a very handsome and ingenious manner, conducing to loyalty, and the copies of them printed and dispersed everywhere in city and country, where they were by the most joyfully received.

And here I may not omit how on a solemn day of entertaining the General at one of the Halls in London, the General, Lord Mayor, Aldermen and a great auditory of select persons

of divines, lawyers and citizens, being assembled in St. Paul's Church, London, the eloquent Doctor Gauden then preached before them an excellent sermon, tending to loyalty, which was afterwards printed.

And therein, as I remember he also sometimes told me, he showed how his brethren of the ministry were not so well advised in still pressing—as they did—for a settlement of the Church, whereas his opinion was that the State should first be settled, and then and not before it might be hoped that the Church would also be settled.

And now the Speaker began to be awakened, so that at his house at the Rolls one day, upon private conference with him, he told me how now—after the re-admission of the secluded members—some in the House of Commons began to speak of the King, and that he had often heretofore thought that he would be restored, though he could not think by what way. But now he thought it would be done, whereupon I saying that it was probable it might so come to pass ere long, and that I heard how already some went over to obtain his Majesty's pardon and favour, and withal asked him what course he took for his own safety, whereto he answered that it concerned him indeed to take care of it, but he durst not as yet make any application that way, for if he should it would rather do him hurt than good, which occasioned me to ask him why he thought so, whereto he answered me because it would presently be known here, and therefore he must forbear a little longer. Whereupon, I asking him if it might not be done so privately as it might not be known here, he told me no, for in all the late times there was intelligence given here within some eight or ten days after that any person came over or made any application there to the King. Whereat, I wondering how or by whom that should be, he then named to me a person\* then great in place and trust about his Majesty, who he said held continual correspondence with Thurloe, sometimes secretary to Oliver, which I confess filled me with much amazement, especially when I observed some very strange passages concerning that person after his Majesty's arrival here in England, which made me fear that what the Speaker had told me before of him might be in some sort true.

After this I found the Speaker, howsoever he had been active or passive before, as he would sometimes say he had had too much of the Chair, to be very ready and compliant for the King's restoration, and desirous also to have inclined the General that way if he could. But he told me he found it very difficult, and that at the late christening of his son's child—to whom General Monck was godfather—he had sounded his inclination and found him still as towards the King very opposite and averse, to say no worse, and he also told me that now the parties in the House came to be somewhat equal

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\* Sir Richard Willis.



either for monarchy or a Commonwealth, and he doubted that the General was so fixed that he would still go on with the Commonwealth party, which I confess I was somewhat troubled at, as hoping that since the secluded members were restored he had been better enlightened. And in fine, the Speaker and I agreed to try him, and I undertook to do it thus, that I should tell him from the Speaker how he found men of different ways in the Parliament, some for the King, and some for a Commonwealth, insomuch that he desired his Lordship's direction how to steer, which message I soon after in the evening late at St. James', when I had the General all alone, did deliver to him in the best manner I could, whereupon he very seriously willed me to return this answer from him to the Speaker, which was in these words: That by any means he should steer—or hold on—for a Commonwealth, for he doubted not but they should get ground of the other party every day, which answer I confess I forbore fully to deliver to the Speaker, as he soon afterwards found by the General's actings and told me of it, and withal how obstinate he found the General against the King's restoration upon his more private discourse with him.

All which I leave to consideration, the matter being all true upon my faith.

And now to come to what the author of the *Continuation* would impose on our belief in his page 745, concerning the General's using means to divert the settling of Hampton Court upon him, and his refusing the offer and temptation of Scott, Haselrigge and that party for him to take the dominion of the three kingdoms upon himself, as that author says, I shall truly and impartially set down what I know and believe concerning those matters and no more, nor otherwise, as I hope for mercy.

And first I do easily believe that Scott and that party, finding their dominion abated in the Parliament, did treat with the General concerning his taking upon him in some sort the government of the three nations, but doubtless so as that they might also have shared and reigned with him in a Commonwealth way, for I often saw them with the General about that time, and as I heard, upon some such treaty, whereto I not being privy, will say no more than [that] I heard and had some reason to believe that the General did then somewhat incline and bend himself to their counsels or proposals to have a Commonwealth established and himself to have been chief of it, as sometimes was the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands. And as for the business of Hampton Court, which was then concurrent in agitation, and so far driven on and prepared that it was put into a Bill intended for an Act and promoted in the Parliament by Scott's party to have settled it on the General and his heirs, and upon what agreements and for what political ends and designs I leave the reader to judge. But it was so resented by all the moderate and well-affected party in the House, and especially for that it was proposed

and driven on by Scott and his party, that to divert that design and to gratify—if not satisfy—the General, another expedient was found out to order him twenty thousand pounds in money and the custody or stewardship of that house of Hampton Court and the parks for his life, which some of the members, after their rising the same day, told me in the hall they did to preserve the house and estate for his Majesty, who possibly might return again, though they saw some endeavoured ever to keep him out and to usurp and spoil his estate and houses, to which they could not assent. And as I was there discoursing with some of the members, there comes into Westminster Hall Sir Peter Killigrew and Mr. James—afterwards Sir James—Muddeford, both kinsmen of the General's, and then newly come from dining with him at St. James', who meeting me there began presently in a very passionate manner to vent their discontents at what had passed that day in the Parliament, in that Hampton Court was not settled upon the General, but that he was put off with a pretence of £20,000, which they said he declared at dinner he did not value, with more to the like effect, which they were so passionate in that I thought fit to draw them aside out of the hearing of those in the hall to the Common Pleas Bar, and there laboured with the best persuasions and reasons I could to allay and cool their heats and to keep them from discovering themselves or the General's discontents any further. And indeed I had before that some intent and occasion to have gone presently to St. James', but finding these gentlemen to come so hot from thence as they did, I thought it best for me to stay, as I did, till towards the cool of the evening, when the heat there might possibly be somewhat abated, which truly I did not find so fully done when I came there afterwards but that the General's lady was as highly discontented as she was disappointed, in that the Parliament had not done concerning Hampton Court as she expected, of which and somewhat else I conceived she had too great an affection. And therefore I applied myself to her accordingly, and persuaded her to rest contented with what the Parliament did, who had a great respect for the General and doubtless would take care of him and his, and that it would be his best and safest way always to adhere to them and acquiesce in what they did, and not for him or her to seem discontented at what was done or to discover that which would bring upon them envy and danger, as she saw had lately befallen Cromwell's family and relations for climbing too high, which I wished her to beware of. All which I protest I told her in those very words or to the same effect, whereto she said that she saw how with some indeed they should have been envied for it if Hampton Court had been settled upon them. And so I brought myself off with her as well as I could in such a hot and distempered season. And it may be observed that in the aforecited page of the *Continuation* it is also said that at the same time that

the 20,000*l.* was ordered to the General the Hamper [Hanaper] Office was also conferred upon the then Commissary Clarges, which shows how the same party had then also some kindness for them both. And howsoever the General and his Commissary were gratified, I was glad the design of Hampton Court was diverted, as considering that if that wheel had gone round it would also have moved or driven on others to a higher motion and degree which by this repulse now stopped.

And now the prefixed time for the rising of the Parliament drawing on, there was much ado in the House to invent and propose qualifications strict enough to keep off all royally affected and other persons, but such as they liked, wherein they were so over cautious that I presumed to tell the General that if so many qualifications must be imposed there would be few gentlemen and men of quality returned, but it would be such a kind of Parliament as Oliver once convened of such petty members for a great part of them that the better part disdained them, and they parted without doing anything but making themselves ridiculous. But, however, the qualifications were very strict and unnecessary. And so this present Parliament dissolved itself the 17th of March, 1659, another Parliament being summoned to succeed on the 25th of April following, in all which time and amongst all these transactions that I had with the General and Speaker and otherwise I often met with and imparted all that I knew unto my worthy friend, Mr. Francis Finch, before named, who—as himself has told me—transmitted them amongst his intelligences to his ancient friend, the then Lord Chancellor Hyde, whereby—as I have been told and have reason to believe—his Lordship and the rest of his Majesty's councillors there were the better informed, and accordingly prepared the several letters, messages and declarations that were afterwards very prudently and seasonably sent thence by his Majesty. And as I also imparted all these intrigues and passages to Mr. John Scott, before named, and was now—notwithstanding all their cautious and precarious qualifications—very confident that his Majesty would be restored at the next ensuing Parliament, Mr. Scott, having an intent then to return to his Majesty, was very earnest with me to have gone over with him to have seen the King and his Court there, and to have given his Majesty some account of my services, which I confess I have since wished I had done. But I, conceiving then that I might do his Majesty more service here, I assented to Mr. Scott's second request, that my eldest son should accompany him to wait on his Majesty to give him an account of affairs here and to do his Majesty what service he could, which accordingly he did, and was very favourably received there, and after some time returned to me again and did what good offices he could here in satisfying some diffident commanders and others of his Majesty's clemency and goodness, and in doing what other services he could for his Majesty

and his servants. But soon after my son's going hence with Mr. Scott, I was sent for to the house now Sir Joseph Sheldon's, in London, by Dr. Morley, whom I had often before seen amongst the relations of the Lady Coventry, and had from them conveyed many letters to him when he attended his Majesty beyond seas, and he was pleased to tell me how he had met my son and Mr. Scott upon the way going towards his Majesty and how Mr. Scott having told him somewhat of me, and he knowing me before how I was affected, he desired me to inform him how matters went here, which I then freely did, when I saw his care and endeavours were very great to serve his Majesty in order to his then hoped for restoration, and to use all prudent means to prepare and oblige several considerable persons, as well spiritual as temporal, to that end. And afterwards, I informing the Doctor how General Monk had lately taken to lodge with him at St. James' one Mr. Morrice, being one of the late re-admitted members, and the General's countryman and ally, and I thought he might be useful for the Doctor's design, the Doctor was then pleased to give me order to bring or send Mr. Morrice to him, which I accordingly did, and if he proved so useful an instrument in the Parliament House for carrying on the General's affairs in relation to his Majesty's interest as the Continuator says, page 752, he was afterwards upon his Majesty's Restoration well rewarded for it, being made one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. About this time it was that the General's antagonist, Colonel Lambert, escaped out of the Tower and got some of the discontented officers and soldiers to join with him, but he was soon afterwards taken and brought up with others as prisoners to London. And well it was that he was so soon taken, for it was doubted that if he had stood up a while longer more of the soldiery were staggering and possibly might have gone to him, which danger, though happily avoided and suppressed by the General's care, yet it might put him in mind upon what slippery ground he stood in relying upon a mercenary army, when so many malcontented Anabaptists, fanatics and others laboured to seduce them. And probably it might make him the more malleable and fit to receive the impressions of such counsels and offers as about this time were, on his Majesty's behalf, tendered unto him for his greater benefit and security.

And here let me interpose another circumstance not impertinent, which is thus: Upon several conferences with my nephew Clarke, he hinted to me how I should take care that my friends—as he called them—the Royalists should be quiet and not break out any way to provoke the General to engage against them, as then he must and would do, which advice I communicated to divers, who observed it, and yet by reason of an acrimonious tract or sermon now printed and put forth by Doctor Griffin, a zealous Royalist, there were like to have been ill humours stirred, but that instantly from several countries there were

very serene declarations set forth and printed, the copy of that for London being extant in the *Continuation*, by all which that heat was allayed and all parties quietly expected what the approaching Parliament would do. And now the writs for elections of knights and burgesses for the near approaching Parliament being sent abroad, one of the first elections that was taken notice of was of that at Canterbury, where two loyal worthy persons were elected burgesses as namely [ ] and Heneage Finch, Esq., now the Right Hon. Lord High Chancellor of England. At the news whereof the General's lady was so passionately concerned that she exclaimed openly against it, as saying we should have a fine Parliament indeed if such men should be chosen, with much more to the same tune. And indeed hereupon the then Council of State, whereof the General was first, put forth a declaration for observing strictly the late Act of Qualifications, and that the Act and that declaration should be read by every sheriff and other officer before they proceeded to any election, notwithstanding all which the Royalists and well-affected persons were in many places chosen and returned. But to prevent their sitting in the House those that were for—their Diana—the good old cause, had a design to meet early at the beginning of the Parliament and to settle such a Committee for Elections as should reject those Royalists. But this weak plot was also discovered and prevented by the Royalists' early resort to and attending the Parliament, so that they became the more prevalent party there.

About this time I remember how I, well knowing that howsoever matters had been sometimes carried on and acted in the City of London, that yet there were in it many worthy and loyal persons, therefore went purposely to Sir Richard Ford and moved him to frame and put forth some vindication, which he accordingly did very ingeniously and well, which he afterwards showed me, and it was printed and published very seasonably. And now his Majesty's gracious letters and declarations being generally and gratefully received and submitted to by both Houses of Parliament, and due preparations made for his Majesty's much desired return to his Parliament and for his reception at Whitehall, I could not but admire what a zealous convert the General's lady came or seemed to be on a sudden, and how busy she was forsooth at the preparations of the House for the King, whilst she was as busy in clearing his ponds at Hampton Court of the carps and other fish in them, as one of her servants told me. And it was also then pretended and given out by some and believed by many that she had been that way strongly affected before, and that now she was working a bed for his Majesty, the truth and ground whereof was that her maids were at that time working some pieces for a bed, such as it was, but not fit for his Majesty, which they so did—I suppose purposely—in an ante-room in the passage towards the dining-room and

such other public rooms at St. James' as the General commonly was in, and as any passed by there the maids would usually be at them and ask them if they would sew a stitch in the King's bed, offering their needles to them to that purpose, and thereby they got moneys to be given them, which could not but amount to a good sum if they had it all to themselves. And many other such like artifices there were to persuade the over-credulous world to believe more than was true.

But amidst these preparations for the King's return I found upon some discourse with this Lady Monck that she was very much troubled to think that some persons should be admitted to come over with his Majesty whom she thought not well of, as namely the then Lord Chancellor Hyde and the ever loyal Marquis, now Duke of Ormond, which animosity I by many reasons endeavoured to persuade her ladyship to decline and to speak no more of it, seeing they were great persons who had constantly served and attended his Majesty in his sufferings and doubtless would be generally received and welcomed, and that the General would not be lessened or damaged by their coming, which I perceived she then greatly feared. And about this time some consultations were also held with the General for the bringing in his Majesty upon articles, which arose from such who were conscious of so much guilt and demerit as they feared they could not be secure without such pre-capitulations. And hereupon Mr. Edmund Warcup, who pretended he had kept with him all the papers concerning the last treaty with the late King—which he valued at a high rate—was brought on to attend the General, as he did for that purpose, and it was said that such articles were framed into a Bill to have passed in the Parliament if the weather had served for it, and so to have put a reed instead of a sceptre into his Majesty's hands, against which a very rational letter to the Earl of Manchester, then Speaker of the House of Lords, was printed and published by a loyal judicious person, which letter I have with me, and yet sure I am that several times after his Majesty's restoration some of very near relation to and employment with the General did often murmur and repine that such an Act had not passed, although I thought they had no reason for it then, they having found his Majesty's clemency and bounty such as had not only forgiven, but given them much beyond their deserts.

But to amuse and deceive the ignorant multitude, who judge of things only by their outward appearance and are easily induced to believe that surely the merit was great that is so highly rewarded, there was no invention, artifice or practice omitted amongst these now seeming converts to raise and spread abroad many fictitious reports and stories, as how the General had long ago designed and plotted how to bring about and effect his Majesty's restoration, although in his deep wisdom and policy he was fain to dissemble it until he had this opportunity to effect it; that to that end he kept himself

still in Scotland, and that Oliver could never get him thence, which upon discourse with some of the General's *privados* they assured me was no such matter, but that he had come away if Oliver had but sent a letter for him. And as concerning Mr. Monck the minister's going into Scotland, whereof much ado is made in the *Continuation*, I have been assured that it was to fetch home his daughter that was there and not otherwise, howsoever it was given out that he had travelled between the King and the General. And to smother or suppress all disclosures or remembrances of what had passed to the contrary of what they imposed upon us, a course was taken to suppress all the General's former letters and declarations which were bound with his serious oaths and vows for a Commonwealth against a King, &c., as likewise his answer to a letter sent him by his loyal countrymen of Devonshire to the like effect as he was marching hither out of Scotland and all other memorials of that nature, which were coming on to have been printed together in *perpetuam rei memoriam* if they had not been stopped as they were by the vigilant care of Mr. Clarges.

Notwithstanding all which, within some short time after his Majesty's happy Restoration, there came from beyond seas in print two several tracts, one written in French, as I have heard, another in Dutch, which discoursed somewhat of the means of his Majesty's restoration, wherein there was not so much attributed to General Monck and his party as they did to themselves, to support whose reputation from being shaken or diminished there was soon after interposed in the London printed weekly intelligence near a leaf full of encomiums, extolling the General's high achievements and loyalty, &c., which I observing and asking Sir John Birkenhead who then wrote or put forth these intelligences about it, he told me that Sir Thomas Clarges brought to him that part ready written and desired it might be there inserted as it was, and also afterwards when it was understood that some persons were preparing to write the life of the Duke of Albemarle, Sir Thomas Clarges to prevent it set Dr. Gumble, the Duke's chaplain and scout-master, to undertake that work, which he did with all the art and advantage imaginable. And moreover I understood how afterwards to stop the mouths and pens of all gainsayers and to inform or misinform the world in a more ample and authorised manner, Sir Thomas Clarges—as now we must call him—had then a deeper design, which was to compose a chronicle or history of the late times, which should *inter alia* set forth all those transactions which concerned the General or his party in order to their pretended actings for his Majesty's restoration, and to that purpose how he conferred with and got notes and memorials from some persons that I know. And therefore considering with myself how this club of confederates were all of them such interested persons that nothing might be expected from them but what should tend to the

support of those fictitious stories and reports they had already raised and obtruded upon the unknowing part of the world, and thereby to anticipate and prevent any such true and impartial history as the weightiness of those matters and actions required and which possibly they feared some more indifferent author might take in hand to compose and set forth if not prevented by their prior edition, I say, considering these persons, though some of them were my acquaintance and friends, yet *magis amica veritas*, I could not forbear out of my pure respect to truth and out of duty to my sovereign and his subjects of all degrees—whom I was not willing to see and suffer to be misled and abused by untruths and fictions as far as I might help or prevent it—I resolved to try if I could procure Doctor Peter Heylin, whom I had observed to be a sagacious and exact historian and a lover of truth, to undertake the work. And accordingly I went to him at his house at Westminster, and acquainting him with the before-mentioned matters I humbly moved him to be pleased to undertake the history of the late times and of his Majesty's restoration, which otherwise I doubted would be partially done by such interested persons as I saw intended it, and that if he so pleased to enter upon it I should attend him with some such information in it, as I supposed few else had, whereto he made me this answer, that truly he commended my desires to have a true history written of the late times, as, he said, the matter required, and that it was a great pity and shame that it should be done partially, so as to transmit untruths to posterity. But he told me somewhat sadly how it had pleased God to take from him his sight, and that he was then upon a work which he had much ado to finish, and therefore he could not undertake what I moved him in, whereupon I asking him if he would then please to recommend me to any person that he thought fit and willing to undertake it, and I would wait upon him, he thereupon was pleased to say that he knew none fitter than myself, and that if I would enter upon it I should be furnished with some materials also, which one Mr. Gataker had—who was indeed a loyal stationer, with whom I was well acquainted—whereupon I told him as the truth was that I thought not myself of ability to undertake such a work, and that I had many other small employments and businesses upon me, and—above all men—I could not do it without danger, for that I saw the General and some about him were very watchful and suspicious of me already, and possibly for that I knew so much of their intrigues as I did. Whereupon the Doctor advised me that if I durst not write or publish it in my own lifetime or in the lifetime of the Duke—for so he was then styled—yet I should not neglect to commit it to writing and leave it sealed up in the custody of some trusty friend that might open it after my death or when it might safely be done, that so the truth might not be smothered or suppressed. And this he not only advised, but charged me to do without fail.



The like advice and charge I also received from my reverend friend, Doctor Gauden, sometimes preacher at the Temple, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of Worcester, as likewise from Mr. Johnson, formerly preacher also at the Temple, who urging me to this work put me in mind of the story of Mordecai, &c. And truly I could not slight or forget these so serious charges laid upon me by such reverend and worthy persons, but that I thought myself thereby, if not otherwise, obliged thus plainly and truly to set down this unpolished narrative, as I have done, out of such papers, collections and materials of these matters as in those times I preserved and kept by me, and indeed as well by the advice of others as upon my own consideration that I now being in the seventy-sixth year of my age, it is high time for me to mind that good advice of doing of what is in my heart to do, and to defer it no longer. I have now by God's assistance thus far effected it and with that candour and veracity as if they were the last words I should write or speak in the world, which I must shortly leave and give account for to the God of truth, whose allknowing wisdom cannot be mocked or deceived with any falsities or impostures, howsoever men may for a while be misled or deluded by them.

And therefore I cannot but with some indignation, as well as wonder, take notice of the overbold presumption of the author or authors of the *Continuation* before mentioned, being a pretended history of a high nature, dedicated to the King's Majesty, and published openly under an honourable license, and where in the epistle to the reader, which commonly shows the design of the writer and is here penned with some caution and craft, the author makes some seeming profession of his fair dealing in these words: That he hath been so faithful therein, as—relating to what he said before, which is specially considerable—that there is not any letter, speech or discourse in public—not including private—conferences, which are not exactly set down as they were written or spoken, save only that of such letters or speeches as were very long, the most pertinent parts are only retained, which clause, as it was cautiously penned so was it as partially observed, for the *Continuator*, in page 173, only mentions the substance in the margin of the General's letter to Fleetwood and Lambert near the 28th of October, 1659, which if it was so material that it gave the greatest check to their career and gave some life to the fainting hopes of all good men—as the author pretends—it might very fitly have been set forth more largely than it is there, and he also conceals whole declarations and letters, as page 723 he says that two declarations were published by the General, and two expostulatory letters were written, one to Fleetwood and the other to Lambert, &c., and another to the Speaker, but sets not forth any of those declarations or letters or any other letters or declarations which passed from or between the General and Fleetwood, besides many the like

omissions of what might certainly have discovered more truth than the author was willing to have had known, whereas in other places he is not sparing to invent and speak much more than is true, where it helps to set forth, palliate or colour the great design. And indeed a knowing and impartial reader may safely discern that the author doth so palpably err and prevaricate in the main matter of his Majesty's restoration, that that part seems wholly framed and devoted to magnify and extol the achievements of the General, and next of Sir Thomas Clarges, and that beyond all *poetica licentia*, as appears in this very epistle, wherein he applies the wonder of his Majesty's restoration to the generosity of the General's attempt and the prudent conduct of it, and therein the General's secrecy in these words, as being obliged to act very differently from his intentions to gain the confidence of those jealous masters whose authority he pretended to obey, &c., and that notwithstanding his greatest subtilty many objected—thinking thereby to weaken his credit with the army—that the King was in the bottom of his design, a pretence indeed often taken up by the author as he goes on in his history, but how truly I leave to the discerning reader to judge, especially for the General's declaration before set forth *verbatim*, when he was most free and not so obliged as that clause pretends, he being then above their power and in plain opposition to it and so doubtless declaring his mind freely as he did. And then that Sir Thomas Clarges may be pointed at with two significant *asterisms* and so induced as a necessary co-operation in that mysterious work, he goes on to tell us in these words: It is evident that he (the General) acquainted but one person (*i.e.*, Clarges) with his design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone, without correspondence, to manage so hazardous an undertaking, &c. And this first *asterism* points in the margin to p. 724, where we find noted that the General discovers to Clarges some glimmerings of his intentions, and wherein but in this only, that he resolved to endeavour to restore the Parliament, &c., and to let in the secluded members, as well as others, and that he conjured Clarges to secrecy because of the jealousy, &c., that the King was in the bottom of his designs, &c., which is the great caution or suspicion urged upon any feigned occasion. Wherein there are two things that pass my credulity, as p. 721, where the Continuator says that Colonel Talbot and Clarges were sent from Fleetwood, Lambert and Desborough to prevail with Monck for a treaty of mediation, which doubtless tended not to his Majesty's restoration, and afterwards, p. 724, he says that the General should then, about the 2nd of November, 1659, at Edinburgh, resolve to let in the secluded members, which surely if he had then and there so resolved there would probably some glimmerings of it have been discovered upon the many petitions and addresses made to him afterwards for that purpose, and not to have lain wholly concealed, as it was, till the advice of another and his own urgent

necessity for his support and preservation did strongly and unavoidably enforce and drive him to it, as this author well knows and hath before set forth. And upon what terms and directions he did then let in those secluded members, *sit liber judex*, his own declaration to them at that time when he was most free—which is before set forth *verbatim*—doth clearly demonstrate.

And secondly where the epistoler adds in these words: How necessary this correspondence was—*i.e.*, the General's correspondence with Clarges—is apparent by many transitions, but by none more than in the lucky contrivance of getting the army out of London and the quartering of his soldiers in their places, and dispersing the rest, whereby the Parliament, City and kingdom became at his reverence, and without which his Majesty's restoration could never have been effected in this way. And if this lucky contrivance were of such effect as the Continuator sets it forth to be, that thereby the Parliament, City and kingdom became at the General's reverence, and without which, &c., may I not wonder that the General should afterwards so declare and act as he did contrary to the effecting his Majesty's restoration, for then it appeared that he so declared and acted spontaneously and not by any superior awe or coercion then upon him, whereas the Parliament, City and kingdom became so at his reverence. But possibly the Continuator may as well palliate or excuse this as he does many other the like contradictions and counteractings.

And because this contrivance of getting the army out of London, &c., was so lucky and effectual, this epistle—which being the key of the work was doubtless studiously penned by Mr. Clarges himself—must necessarily entitle Mr. Clarges to be the sole author and contriver of this lucky exploit, as by the second *asterism*, which points at pp. 740-742, where in p. 740 the Continuator sets forth the letter, as he says it was penned by Mr. Clarges and approved and signed by the General, though with some blanks, and that at Nottingham, about the 20th of January, 1659[-60], where Mr. Clarges was then newly come to him, and that before Scott and Robinson came to the General. And for this letter thus far off and so long before signed with blanks, the Continuator says it was then agreed it should not be sent till the General came to St. Alban's, that those in the House of the faction for the Oath of Abjuration might suppose that it came with the privacy of Scott and Robinson, and seeing him so near be less apt to oppose his desires. Which counterfeit reason, how weak and improbable it is, as well for that the Oath of Abjuration came long after it in time, as likewise the time of sending of this letter away afterwards to the Speaker, and why not sent then by Mr. Clarges, as in p. I leave it hereupon, and upon what is formerly said in this narrative concerning it, to the judgment of any indifferent reader whether Mr. Clarges was so

much the author of and actor in this lucky contrivance, &c., as the Continuator would have us believe him to be.

But not to pass slightly over this epistle, wherein every word seems to be of weight, let it be observed how in the beginning of it the author, having recited what Sir Richard Baker affirmed of the history written by himself: That it was collected with so great care and diligence, &c., the Continuator thereupon infers and says thus: And if so much might be said of what he—*i.e.*, Sir Richard Baker—did, I presume nothing that hath been since added to it and published hath impaired the credit and worth of it. In which words it is conceived that the epistoler doth indeed presume a little too much concerning his additions, which are not taken to be of equal credit and worth with Sir Richard Baker's history, and so the *Continuation* may be an impairing, &c.

And then in the next paragraph the epistoler thus proclaims: How necessary this *Continuation* is, will best appear by the perusal thereof and in that part which concerns the transactions of the Duke of Albemarle, there is not only so exact an account as is nowhere else to be found, but also many secret passages of particular remark, which could never have been known but from his Excellency's own papers and several other private collections of persons active with him in that service, which I—*i.e.*, the author—had the permission to make use of.

Now for the account concerning the Duke of Albemarle's transactions, it is so far from being exact that it is very lame and partial, painted and varnished over with strange colours and pretensions, which do misrepresent or obscure and hide the truth from us, and indeed no exact account of his transactions is anywhere to be found, there having been such course taken to prevent and suppress it as is before truly set forth. And for the secret passages, &c., which never had been known but from the General's own papers and several other collections of persons active with him, &c.—*i.e.*, Clarges—I would willingly see what secret passages are so made known from his Excellency's own papers and several, &c. I find none such set forth clearly in the whole story, but purposely concealed. And for Mr. Clarges' private collections, as they are set forth, believe 'em who list, I have not historical faith enough for it.

And whereas in the third paragraph he magnifies this wonderful restoration of his Majesty, &c.—*i.e.*, by the General and Mr. Clarges—for the generosity of the attempt and the prudent conduct of it let us a little consider of it.

The attempt indeed had been generous if it had been spontaneous and free, as upon the account of loyalty to his Prince and love to his country, but in what action of these pretenders do we find either of these fore-mentioned virtues? Did they not drive on other, yea contrary ends and designs and that *lucri gratia*, until necessity for self-preservation and seasonable tenders of honour and reward brought these pretended attempters quite about to act as at last they did—contrary to

what they had long before done—when they could not well do otherwise, and for this they have been bountifully rewarded, so that a nobleman of this nation said very truly once to me that if the General brought not home the King he had certainly brought himself home very well.

And as for the pretended courage joined with this generosity thus to preserve the kingdom, &c., at a time when the governing power was in those that were irreconcilable to his Majesty's person and government, &c., O strange prevarication! Did these courageous attempters act against or did they not rather act for and with these irreconcilable persons? It is too apparent they did. And so surely the happy restoration of his Majesty was brought about by the prudent conduct and courage of other more loyal attempters, who brought about those pretended attempters to do at last as they did, or else the work had not been done by them, which nevertheless they now thus vainly arrogate thus wholly to themselves. And in so doing they audaciously catch up and run away with the main question, as taking that for granted on their part which is not at all to be admitted. And then for the like further magnifying of this achievement, as at a time when by the defeat of Sir George Booth his Majesty's greatest hopes were frustrated and most of the nobility and gentry which were engaged with him were disarmed, &c. And what of all this? Was the defeat of Sir George Booth any obstacle to General Monck's supposed actings for his Majesty? If so, why had he not then assisted him as he was moved to have done? Nay, why did he give orders to . . . to oppose Sir George Booth? And as for the loyal nobility and gentry being then disarmed, &c., surely that did not then trouble the General or the Rump party that sent for him, and intended further to disarm them and confiscate their estates, as before is said. And that indeed howsoever Sir George Booth and his party were so unhappily defeated, yet certainly the genius and spirit of the nation still kept up for his Majesty, and so thereby and by the overruling Providence of God—who sometimes, as in this instance of the attempters, turns men and matters quite about to serve His purposes, contrary to their own intentions—his Majesty's restoration was in due time happily brought about and effected, and surely I believe that for this wonderful work more glory is to be given to God and less to the General and his party than the Continuator hath ascribed.

But then, says the epistoler, the General's secrecy in the conduct of this great affair is very remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his intentions, &c. O profound policy! But this is so plainly discovered and answered before *ex ore suo* by his own declaration, &c., that I need not say any more to it, but to admire the author's confidence in thus imposing such incredible fictions upon us. And indeed if I dare appeal to the judgment of any uninterested person that shall with a discerning eye read over and peruse that whole

history concerning the so much magnified achievements of the General and his adviser, Mr. Clarges, and others, in order to the restoration of his Majesty, whether he shall not observe it throughout stuffed up with many elaborate but fictitious speeches, answers and contrivances to set forth their pretensions, mixed also with many weak though cunning shifts and devices to palliate or excuse their counteractings, and some slights to pass over or wholly to conceal or suppress what the authors knew was unexcusable, or that they durst not touch upon or discover to the world, though most fit and necessary to have informed us of the truth of some of the most material actions and passages, if the author would have dealt so fairly and candidly with us as in the Epistle he seemed to profess, and so to have followed that approved rule and example of the famous historian Polybius, who lays it down as an axiom or general ground for all historiographers thus, *historisi est ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat*. But not finding any such sincerity in the author of the *Continuation*, I shall leave him and his works to better judgments and crave leave to speak a little of my own concerns and my son's, briefly thus.

Within some few days after his Majesty's happy arrival at his Court at Whitehall, I went thither with my son, who, presenting himself in his Majesty's presence, as he was attended and discoursing with many noblemen round about him, his Majesty was graciously pleased, as soon as he saw my son, to stretch forth his hand for him to kiss. The like favourable reception also his Royal Highness at his lodgings vouchsafed unto him, with some very gracious expressions towards him. In a few days after, we also went together to tender our services to the then Lord Chancellor Hyde, who then, being lame of the gout, lay upon his bed at Dorset House; and his Lordship observing me and my son to stand off, near the door, in regard of many persons of quality then attending near unto him, his Lordship was pleased to call us to him by our names, and vouchsafing to take me by the hand and so to hold me a good while, he was pleased to say to me how I and my son had done the King very good service, and that we should be remembered for it, asking me wherein he might serve us, with other such like noble and free expressions, for which I thankfully answered that what we had done was but our duties, and that we rejoiced in his Majesty's and his happy return, and so, wishing his Lordship good health, we took leave at that time. And indeed I must ever thankfully acknowledge that upon several occasions afterwards, his Lordship showed his continual favour and respect towards us in a very noble way, howsoever it was not of any profit or advantage to us—as I presume his Lordship intended—save only that he showed favour to my son as he came to practise before his Lordship in the Court of Chancery. About this time also my son went to Whitehall, and there tendered his duty and service to the

truly honourable Lord, the then Marquis of Ormond, with his humble thanks for the favours his Honour vouchsafed him when he attended his Majesty at Breda, which his Lordship received so graciously that he was pleased freely to say unto us how our services must not be forgotten, but that some place must be had for my son, with other such like favourable expressions, which his Lordship then vouchsafed to bestow upon us, and upon all occasions afterwards his Lordship in his wonted affability would not disdain to admit us to his presence, with demonstrations of his continual favours and respects to us.

After this, I being one day attending on my honourable good friend, the Reverend Dr. Morley, then Bishop of Worcester, as his Majesty was walking in St. James' Park, it pleased this good Bishop to bring me to his Majesty and to speak some good words of me to him, as that I was a loyal person that had done his Majesty very good service, &c., whereat his Majesty—making some stand—vouchsafed to give me his royal hand to kiss, and to cast a very gracious look and countenance upon me and to assure me of his favour, &c.

About this time also some occasions in order to his Majesty's service drew me to attend that honourable and loyal secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, who was sometimes pleased to question and confer with me concerning some persons and matters, wherein I gave him such satisfaction that he was pleased to encourage me to come oftener to him, declaring himself ready to serve me—as he phrased it—in anything he might.

But he soon after retired from that honourable place and employment, and I afterwards wanted his friendly assistance when I came to be a petitioner to his Majesty for his favour in renewing to me a lease of a farm, which I then and some years before held by a former grant from the Crown, and had bestowed very great charge in improving and building upon it, insomuch that it was then the main of my small estate, but it lying too near to a newly obtained seat and habitation of a courtier then very prevalent\* I could not obtain that favour to have my lease renewed, but was fain to part with my remaining farm, to my no small damage, if not undoing.

And howsoever, by serving his Majesty thus as I did—and that against my own interest, as some have told me—I have been so far from getting anything that I have been a great loser and near to undoing. Yet I bless God for it, I rejoiced nevertheless in what service I did and in the success of it, not doubting but that in God's good time his gracious Vicegerent here will, upon further suit and petition to his Highness upon a fit occasion, vouchsafe to remember me and my son, his most humble servants, who do always—as duty binds us—heartily pray for all happiness to attend his sacred Majesty and all the Royal Family, with the welfare and prosperity of all his Majesty's loyal subjects and servants in all his Highness' kingdoms and dominions long to continue, amen.

*Soli Deo omnipotenti sit honor et gloria in eternum.*

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\* Lord Arlington.

## DUKE OF ORMOND to the KING.

[1674, May?].—Printed in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, Vol. II., p. 445. Dr. Clarke's copy is noted: "Found in his Grace's red desk after his death. It was writ surely in 1674, when he was going to Ireland. Memo.: The above is in Sir Robert Southwell's hand."

## DUKE OF ORMOND and LORD RANELAGH.

1675, November 3 [12?].—Dispute in the Council between Lords Ormond and Ranelagh [see *Carte's Life of Ormond*, Vol. II., p. 452, where the date is given as the 12th], with an account of further proceedings in the matter, viz.: That on November 17 Sir John Nicholas moved his Majesty on Ormond's behalf that the Lord Ranelagh should put in his statements in writing, to which the King replied that Lord Ranelagh's account was not for the Council, but only for himself. Some time after there were further discussions in Council on the business, when the Lord Keeper said "that the Lord Ranelagh, having made a mistake in his discourse about mismanagement, at which the Duke of Ormond took offence, meant no such thing, and that it was altogether beside his business to meddle when it did not concern him—whereupon the Lord Ossory moved that the Lord Ranelagh would put the mismanagements into writing, because a part of the time concerned him—whereupon the Lord Lauderdale said, as did his Majesty before, that the judgment of Lord Ranelagh's business was in his Majesty and that the paper ought only to be delivered to his Majesty."

*Memorandum*:—"Lord Ranelagh's narrative was read in Council 1st March 1675[-6]."

## DUKE OF ORMOND to the KING.

1677, October 24. Dublin—"By this post, Mr. Secretary Coventry will receive such a state of your Majesty's revenue and charge here as can be for the present made, and I am persuaded it will be found to be no better than the computation represents it; so that I conceive it will be necessary for your Majesty to think of the ways of being supplied, if you still continue to be of opinion to put your affairs in this kingdom into a condition not only to secure your government here but to contribute towards the doing it in all other your dominions. If your Majesty shall satisfy yourself with keeping things here in the state they are, that is make a scrambling shift to pay your army and other ordinary expenses of the government by borrowing from the future months to pay the present, I think it may be done as long as no disorder shall arise within your kingdoms, but if you aim, as I hope you do, at making this kingdom useful to you in a more considerable degree by the re-inforcement of your army and the securing of com-



modious harbours and places, I do not doubt but it may be compassed, your Majesty doing your part towards it. It is possible some projects may be brought to your Majesty how this may be done, at least in some good proportion, by the strength of your own revenue. I guess so because discourses have been held with me to the same effect, but I exceedingly distrust all such overtures. I am sure time must be lost in the experiment, and that a Parliament here can and will do it, if it be rightly handled, I do not question.

There is nothing the considering part of this people do more apprehend should procure their ruin in the end or at the best keep them from reaping the fruit of their industry than the transmission of their money into England, and they suppose the more they give beyond what serves to support the government the sooner they shall be undone or at least the longer they shall be a-thriving. I do not think they will stick at the giving any supply the kingdom can afford, if a way can be found to satisfy them that it will be employed among them without presuming to ask wherein—I wish the same temper ruled everywhere; this by the way—and methinks it should not be impossible so to contrive it that they might have this satisfaction, and yet your Majesty still receive what you now do or a greater sum out of this revenue by transferring some of the charge of England upon it, such as might be answered by the commodities of this country. But till this and the whole design can be better thought of and digested I must presume to beseech your Majesty that you would not send for small sums of money from hence upon every suggestion that there is an overplus, when in reality there is no such thing, if your Majesty has it still in your purpose to try to get considerable supplies, for though the sums be inconsiderable yet the drawing them away will greatly discourage and indispose them who must give these supplies, and if I durst I would rather propose that your Majesty—before a Parliament shall be talked of—would employ some part of your own 20,000*l.*, either in raising of more companies and sending them over or in building of the Fort of Kingsale, for I am confident, if you mean to command that a Parliament should be called, the venture would bring you in a triple return, wherein your Majesty would not fail to find your account your own way. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for the length of this letter." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

#### CHARLES II. to ALEXANDER POPHAM.

1677[-8], February 16. Court at Whitehall—Commission to Alexander Popham to be cornet of a troop of horse under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Trelawny, Bart., captain, in the regiment of the Duke of York, of which the Earl of Peterborough is Colonel. *Sign manual. Countersigned by Secretary Coventry. Parchment.*

THE DUKE OF YORK to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1678,\* April 28. Windsor—"Now all the world sees that his Majesty is master, if he pleases, and that 'twill be his own fault if his affairs do not go well: I am sure you will do your part to keep him to those good resolutions of sticking to himself and the old Cavalier and Church of England party, who have both power as well as will to support him and the monarchy, which I am sure the Presbyterians will never do, but on the contrary use all their endeavours to ruin both. I shall say no more but to assure you that I shall always be a true and steady friend to you and yours." *Extract by Dr. Clarke.*

DUKE OF ORMOND to the KING.

1678, September 26. Kilkenny—"The season for any further work to be done at Kingsale for securing the harbour being now near spent, it is fit your Majesty should have an account of what is done and designed, that your approbation and pleasure may be our guide and warrant. I have therefore sent Mr. Robinson with his several drafts and to give your Majesty all the information and satisfaction you can possibly receive from hence concerning that place, with an account of what is already spent upon it and an estimate of what it will cost to bring the work to perfection in either of the ways your Majesty shall resolve upon. I shall only presume to say that the work which will cost least money and require fewest men is most proper for the present state of your revenue and state of your army, provided it may secure the harbour from attempts by sea, for I conceive that place cannot be secured against a land army but by an army; and the lesser design will be able to defend itself from being overrun by any force that a fleet can set ashore or by any sudden insurrection till it may be succoured. I know this letter may find your Majesty full of the businesses of the time and place. I will therefore end it with my prayers for your prosperity in all things." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

DUKE OF ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1678, November 20. Dublin—"You find we write after the English copy, where the apparent difference betwixt the state of the two kingdoms will admit, which I need not mark to you by instances. You know the disproportion betwixt Papists and Protestants in England as to number is vastly different from that in Ireland: there perhaps the hundredth man is not a Papist, and here it may be the eighth or tenth man is not a Protestant, yet it cannot hence be inferred that we are at their mercy; on the contrary, I think they are more at ours. And yet to drive them all out of this town and other garrison towns, as they are sent out of London, when it was debated in Council was found for many reasons unfit, and so

\* The date is quite distinct, but it seems much more probable that the letter was written in 1682.

was another expedient—suggested by Lord Orrery—of taking up and securing some gentlemen who had lost their estates and yet retained great dependencies. This was laid aside because it could not be foreseen to how many this rule would extend; how so many should be maintained in their confinement or how many such a proceeding might alarm and put upon desperate courses, which though it would probably end in their own ruin, yet what disorder it might in the meantime produce in this government, and especially in the revenue, which is the support and life of it, is much to be feared. Nor is it a frivolous speculation to consider how an inconsiderable insurrection may be magnified in France and invite an invasion, in which case only the Irish are to be feared as to a conquest. But my Lord Orrery's ends visibly enough are to manifest his extraordinary vigilance and forecast, which is a safe figure to assume. If no mischief happens, providence and circumspection never want applause, if any shall happen and have no success, he knows how to attribute the prevention to his counsels, if it have success, he knows as well how to attribute that to the neglect of his advices. Another end of his is to asperse the government and render it suspected to the Protestants, as not acting vigorously enough for their preservation because they do not put in execution those things that he—being a man of sense enough—knows to be impracticable or really more likely to bring danger than safety upon them, such as are the imprisonment of gentlemen and purging, as he calls it, of garrison towns. I will not say that some private ill-will to some particular persons has a part in his proposition, or that he would be content there should be another rebellion that there may be another distribution of lands, but I am satisfied all he proposes looks very like it.

I did not mean to have brought this letter to this length when I began it, but that Lord's ensnaring overtures, not made directly to me but to one who he may well say at any time he is confident has showed them to me, have drawn me on. In this and in my letters to my Lord Longford and Sir Robert Southwell, I have said what came hastily into my mind of my proceedings in this difficult conjuncture, difficult in itself, but more difficult perhaps to me in my station than to most men." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

#### DUKE OF ORMOND.

1678[-9], January 15-March 22—Copies of letters of the King and the Duke of York to the Duke of Ormond and of Ormond to them, all printed in Carte's *Life*, Vol. II., appendix; pp. 93-95.

#### DUKE OF ORMOND TO SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1678[-9], March 7. Dublin—"The last letters from my son Ossory inform me that his Majesty was then resolved to send

twenty of those companies that were to be disbanded in England to re-inforce his army here. If by my next letters I find that resolution continues, you shall receive some directions concerning them; in the meantime I will own to you that the proposition was mine at first, but there was a condition annexed to it, namely, that his Majesty would call a Parliament here, to provide as well for the subsistence of those recruits as for many other things needful for the defences of this kingdom, of which condition, though there be no notice taken in my son's letter, yet I must suppose it understood because it is well known the revenue here will not be able to do it, if it should hold at the height it is, of which there is great doubt. My son Ossory will show you what I have written to him on this subject, if you call upon him.

There is nothing can tend more to the security and improvement of this kingdom than a large access of English and Protestants, since it is impossible to lessen the number of Irish Papists on a sudden without laying waste upon the matter most of our towns and lands which are mostly inhabited and tenanted by them, so that, I say, they cannot be brought to an equality in number without that inconvenience, but we may be superior in strength by a considerable re-inforcement of the army. They therefore that know not the true state of this kingdom in that particular may think the same course may be taken with Papists here that is in England, but if the laws here were the same they are in England as to capital and pecuniary penalties and strictly put in execution, the Protestant landlords would soon interpose for a mitigation and forbearance, for they would find a beggared tenant little better than no tenant, and yet some of those landlords are they that pretend they cannot sleep for fear of having their throats cut by the Papists, and asperse the government because there are so many of them, though they themselves are the men that brought them to inhabit their houses in towns and to plant and labour their lands, and make daily complaints in their behalfs, upon pretence of their being wronged and oppressed by excise men and gatherers of hearth money. But I have said enough at this time on a subject I did not design to treat of at all when I began my letter." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

DUKE OF ORMOND to SECRETARY COVENTRY.

1679, April 30—Printed in Carte's *Life*, Vol. II., p. 491.

DUKE OF ORMOND to SIR RODERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, April 30 and May 7—Both printed in Carte's *Life*, Vol. II., appendix, pp. 91, 92.

DUKE OF ORMOND to the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

1679, May 25. Dublin—"His Majesty having been pleased amongst other affairs of greatest importance to his service to

order that the concerns of this his kingdom should be consulted of and receive despatch from his Council of England, where your Lordship presides, I hold it proper for me, considering the place I hold, not only to congratulate your access to that great station but to beseech your Lordship—as other great things in agitation may permit—to call for those representations and despatches which have been transmitted from hence since my last coming to this government, whereby the true state of this kingdom will best appear, and whereby I hope it will also appear that I have not been wanting—as far as the means that were in my power would reach—to provide for the safety of his Majesty's government and good subjects. When your Lordship shall be possessed of the papers I mean, I do not doubt but you will find cause to propose the taking of some resolutions and giving directions upon them, and I promise myself they will be most prudent and effectual, now that the ancient and prudent and prosperous methods of government are resumed. My Lord, besides the public end designed in this letter, I am desirous to take occasion to offer your Lordship the surest and most authentic way of information which I think you can have of proceedings here, past and to come, whereof I have reason to suspect you have had misrepresentations as to what is past, though I must at the same time confess that by what I have seen, as spoken by your Lordship in relation to Ireland—which gives me the suspicion—I may well conclude you did not give full credit to the intelligence you had received, as it might reflect on me, and I am in this so far satisfied that I profess if I had been present when some expressions fell from your Lordship in the Lords' House concerning this kingdom, I should not have understood or answered them as they were understood and answered.\* Yet the conjuncture, my circumstances and course of life considered, I cannot be much offended at the mistake or transport of a near relation who might imagine I was glanced at in what of all the things in the world he knew I was most tender in and valued myself most upon, and I take the liberty to believe that, supposing the case your own, your Lordship would have the same indulgence for a son of yours. I should not have given your Lordship the trouble of so many lines on this subject, but that I have been assured you have been pleased to say you had not any thought to my prejudice in that discourse, and if I did not think myself highly obliged by such a declaration and if I were not very desirous to be esteemed and really prepared to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant." *Copy.*

PRINCE OF ORANGE to LADY OSSORY.

1680, August 9-19. Dieren—La perte que vous venez de faire est si grande, qu'il n'y a que Dieu seul qui vous puisse donner de la consolation. J'espère qu'il vous en donnera, et

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\* See the Earl of Ossory's speech. *Carte's Life*, Vol. II., App. p. 90.

assez de force de pouvoir supporter un si fatal coup; pour moi, elle m'a si sensiblement touché, que je vous puis assurer qu'il n'y a homme au monde qui participe plus à votre juste douleur. J'ai perdu un des meilleurs amis que j'avais au monde, dont la mémoire me sera toujours aussi chère qu'a été sa personne, et ne souhaite rien plus que d'avoir des occasions pour pouvoir témoigner à sa famille l'envie que j'ai de la servir, et à vous faire connaître combien véritablement je suis votre très affectionné serviteur." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

#### DUKE OF ORMOND.

1680, August 10 and 19—Letters to the King, the Duke of York and Lady Clancarty, printed in Carte's *Life*, Vol. II., appendix, pp. 95, 96, and 123.

#### The QUEEN to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1680, September 3 [received]—Printed by Carte, Vol. II., appendix, p. 97.

#### DUKE OF ORMOND.

1681, April 22-July 22—Letters from the King to Ormond and from Ormond to the Duke of York and the King, printed by Carte, Vol. II., appendix, pp. 106-108.

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

1681, July 18—Order by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges to oblige young scholars to reside in the University for the greatest part of every term, except the first and last, during the whole of their four years. *Printed.*

#### DUKE OF ORMOND to SIR LEOLINE JENKINS.

1681, October 7th. Kilkenny—"His Majesty and this Church have by the death of the Bishop of Derry had a loss hardly reparable; he was so well fitted for all the functions of a prelate, and so particularly for such a city and diocese as Londonderry, where a well-tempered and prudent resolution is highly necessary, together with a virtuous and sober disposition to hospitality. These qualifications are, for anything I have heard, in Dr. Hopkins, now Bishop of Rapho. I am sure that in my judgment he is one of the best and most discreet preachers I ever heard; he is in the same province, and his promotion to a much better bishopric is natural. If his Majesty shall pitch upon him, I humbly offer Dean Sheridan for Rapho; his younger brother, to whom he is inferior in nothing, is Bishop of Cloyne, and he has long been Dean of Downe, in the same province. I desire you humbly to present my thoughts upon this occasion to his Majesty." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

The EARL OF ANGLESEY to the DUKE OF ORMOND, at Dublin Castle.

1681, December 3. London—"Yours of the 12th of last month I received the 27th of the same by Sir Robert Reading, who promised to give your Grace an account thereof, with intimation of that respect and honour with which I received that, and shall do anything that comes from your Grace's hand, be it never so sharp, because I know you will hear reason. I have almost finished my answer to it, but being long, as the nature of your Grace's and the matter thereof required, lest Sir Robert Reading have failed to write, I have sent this to excuse my delay, because taking a little more time I doubt not to give your Grace satisfaction, and evince my being, may it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble and affectionate servant." [*Copy in Dr. Clarke's hand.*] *Underwritten.*

"Memorandum:—The Duke of Ormond's letter to the Earl of Anglesey was dated the 12th November, 1681, to which the Earl gave one answer of the 3rd December—viz., that above—which was very civil, if not penitent; but having consulted his interest with that faction for whom he had written his book, he writes another, and does on the 7th following accommodate his style to their sense, printing his resentments in the latter and suppressing his civility in the first. *Some of the Earl of Anglesey's errors detected in reference to the affairs of Ireland.* MSS. penes Ed. Southwell."

*Endorsed*:—"Not printed."

The DUKE OF YORK to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1682, March 23. Newmarket—"I hope you will be here before I return for Scotland. I make no doubt but that your coming here at this time will be for his Majesty's service, for sure what you say will have weight with him, and I hope you will be able to fix him in the resolution of standing by and supporting himself by his old Cavalier and Church party, which if countenanced have power as well as will to serve him. I need say no more, but that I shall be as truly your friend as you can desire." *Extract by Dr. Clarke.*

DUKE OF ORMOND.

1684, October 19-December 28—Copies of letters from the King, Duke of York and Earl of Rochester to the Duke of Ormond and of his letters to them, all of which are printed in Carte's *Life*, Vol. II., pps. 111-117.

DUKE OF ORMOND to the LORD PRIMATE [of Ireland].

1685, July 11. St. James' Square—"The rebellion in the West has had a happy conclusion, such as if it be improved

with prudence may establish a lasting peace, secure the monarchy in the right line, and recover our reputation and make the nations bear such a poise in Europe as our situation and strength may naturally challenge. There are, as in all governments, some things to be done and other things to be avoided, and I hope God will direct the King in both. It is the fate of all unsuccessful designs of the nature of the Duke of Monmouth's that when they are disappointed they are also branded—besides the wickedness of the attempt—with folly and rashness and with want of vigour and conduct in the execution, but certainly all these could never be more justly charged upon any rebel than upon that unfortunate man, who will not have many days to revolve and repent his crimes and to consider from what happiness and to what misery he has brought himself and his innocent wife and children. A sad instance of the uncertainty of things in this world and of the desperate and deplorable condition of man when abandoned by God and left to the corruption of his own nature and disordinate passions. I believe the latter end of the next week will be the end of his life. His case and the Lord Grey's are not the same, so that some necessary formalities may relieve him some time longer." *Extract by Dr. Clarke.*

[JUSTICE] CRESWELL LEVINS.

1685, November 5—Certificate that he has heard the case between Dr. Oldys and Philip Foster and that he does not find that the doctor had any intention to dispute the privilege of the University as concerning freehold estates.

*Enclosing,*

*Jona. Johnson.*

1685, October 5—*Deposition that he does not believe that Dr. Oldys was privy to the summons against Foster, and that he declared that he would not contend with the University in the matter.*

DUKE OF ORMOND to his grandson, the EARL OF OSSORY.

1685[-6], February 15—Printed by Carte, Vol. II., appendix, p. 119.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE, Oxford.

1686, June 14—List by Dr. Clarke of pedigrees and other writings which concern the founder's kinsmen, delivered to him by Dr. James, warden, on this date.

Crofts, 1630.

Sherley.

Charles Scott.

Thos. Harrington.

Nicholas Wood, 1589.

Henry Beaumont, 1571.

John Gibbons, 1589.

H. Beaumont, 1571, *transcript.*

Robert Googe, 1611.

Boys, 1579.

Marshall Bridges, 1685.

Darrell, 1592.

Constantine.

Dr. Filmer, 1671.



Letter from Dr. Lewes and Awbrey, 1579.

Letter of the Archbishop for Boys, 1579.

Boys, 1579.

Letter from Kempe for Boys to Dr. Lewes, &c., 1579.

Goche's pedigree, 1587. Scott.

Certificate from Hopton, 1511.

Letter from Sir Wm. Sedley for Daniell, 1611.

Letter from the herald, December 21st, 1629.

The Fellows' reasons for not electing Digges.

Sir Dudley Digges' answer to the Fellows' reasons.

G. Cant. [Archbishop Abbott] letter to the Warden, December 22nd, 1629.

Certificate of John Philpot, herald, August 27, 1629.

Sir Thos. Chicheley's and Mr. Jeffereys' certificate concerning Edward Digges.

JOHN TAYLOR to his brother [in-law], DR. SHIPPEN.

[16]87, August 1st—Now you are in London, why do you not speak to Dr. Covell and Mr. Birch, who is said to be a famous preacher and will not accept the Chancellor's place if it fall? "I would gladly believe that you might both get the Chancellor's place and a mandamus to be residentiary here. Dr. James has lately got one, and though they be now five in residence, yet I believe it may be a much better income than any prebendary, especially during the vacancy of an Archbishop.

"If you would talk with Mr. Vermuyden, Col. Anth. Leyborne, who lives at the Sugar Loaf in St. Lawrence Lane, would bring you together. If he will pay 100*l.* and give good security for the rest, I will take his bond."

#### The SEVEN BISHOPS.

1688, June 8—A prayer upon the commitment of the Archbishop of Canterbury with six bishops more to the Tower.

#### STOCKPORT.

1690, September 22nd—A list of persons assessed for the poll tax in the town of Stockport, containing about 280 names, besides wives, children, other relatives, apprentices and servants. Total amount, 75*l.* 17*s.* 0*d.* The chief payments are:—

	£	s.	d.
Dr. Shippen, for his title .....	5	0	0
„ wife and three children for			
the poll .....	0	5	0
„ for a little girl at his house	0	1	0
„ a man and two maids .....	0	3	0
„ for £5,000 of personal estate	25	0	0
Jo. Ardern, Esq., and his lady .....	5	2	0
„ „ for refusing to take the			
oaths .....	5	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Jo. Shallcross, Esq., lady and two children	5	4	0
John Warren, Esq., and his lady .....	5	2	0
Tho. Swettenham, gent., his wife and five children .....	1	7	0
Tho. Swettenham, for refusing to take the oaths .....	1	1	0
Edw. Davenport, gent., wife and four children .....	1	6	0
Wm. Davenport, gent., his lady and child ...	1	3	0
Rich. Garsden, gent., and his wife .....	1	2	0

The other amounts vary from 5s. to 1s.

The assessors are—Ralph Taylor, Wm. Wood, John Barret, John Newton, Rob. Duckenfeild, John Warren and Hen. Bradshaw. Collectors—John Warrington and Thomas Mathewson. With note that £25 is to be added for Dr. Shippen, making the total 94*l.* 4*s.* [*sic*]. *Copy.*

#### SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL to the EARL OF CLARENDON.

1698, May—"It was in January, 1665-6, that I was sent into Portugal to dispose that Court to terms of peace with Spain. In a few days after Sir Richard Fanshaw, ambassador at Madrid, came down to Portugal on the same errand, and after some progress made in this work we went both to Madrid, and in some months after arrived there the Earl of Sandwich in quality of ambassador extraordinary, soon after which I departed for Portugal, and having left Sir R. Fanshaw very sick, the news of his death overtook me in my journey. The difficulties which arose in this negotiation required my return to Madrid in October, 1667, where then staying but for a week, I was entertained in my Lord Ambassador's house and did every day dine publicly with him. And the discourse happening one day to fall on Dunkirk and the vast expenses the King of France had there made, my Lord Ambassador seemed to undervalue them, and that the port could never be made commodious for shipping, for that the sea was so tempestuous and the grounds so various and so rolling upon every storm that there would never be a certain access to the port. *And therefore, said he, I was the first man that, upon the considerations, moved the King to part with Dunkirk and all the burden of that chargeable garrison, though it happens that Lord Clarendon bears the blame.* My Lord, this I am willing to attest at your desire I should, and take liberty at the same time to mind your Lordship of separating such papers within your store as may concern the late Duke of Ormond, for whose memory your Lordship preserves that reverence which is due from all. This request is made with hopes that [with] what I have in my custody and what your Lordship may furnish, some great hand may be found that may be competent to write the character of that great man, who for the space of fifty-seven years stuck firm to the Crown." *Copy by Dr. Clarke.*

## SIR STEPHEN FOX to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1698, November 25. Whitehall—"I find in my book that I received the 200,000 crowns at Havre-de-Grace in February, 1661, which produced in sterling money 43,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, which was paid to Sir George Carteret, except about 7,000*l.* for raising three troops of horse for Portugal to go with the foot that went from Scotland. My Lord Duke of Northumberland was this morning with me."

*Extract by Dr. Clarke, with memorandum.*—"Endorsed in Sir Robert's own hand:—From Sir S. Fox, of money from the French to transport our troops to Portugal, 1662."

## CARDINAL MAZARIN.

[1698]—Extracts out of Sir Robert Southwell's *Remarks on Cardinal Mazarin's negotiation of the Pyrenean Peace in 1659*, with memorandum by Dr. Clarke that they are taken from Sir R. Southwell's MS., written in October, 1698.

## SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL to the EARL OF CLARENDON.

1700, April 25—Printed in Clarendon's *State Papers*, Vol. III., appendix, p. 25.

## WILLIAM III. to RICHARD, EARL OF RANELAGH, Paymaster General.

1699-1700, February 22. Court at Kensington—Warrant for the payment of 449*l.* to George Clarke, Judge Advocate, for attendance of himself and his clerks at the Board of General Officers at the Horse Guards, from January 1, 1697-8, to March 25, 1699. *Copy.*

## MAYOR OF BATH to ALEXANDER POPHAM, M.P., London.

1701[-2], January 31. Bath—The freeholders of the eastern part of our country have sent us a petition, which we have signed, for adjourning the election of knights of the shire to Wells and Taunton, "for the place where it is held is at Ivelchester, which is such an odious place that there is neither meat, drink nor lodging to be had," so that many freeholders do not appear and those in the neighbourhood choose whom they please. We pray you to promote the bill and that Bath may be mentioned to have a poll also, as we have five hundred freeholders within four miles of the city. We find "that the bill for punishment of vagrants and sending them to the place of their last settlement is like to be continued. We have great trouble in this city in the summer time by poor and indigent people that come to the Bath and bring with them but little money, and as soon as it is spent cannot return home because

of their poverty unless they are whipt, which is very inhumane to poor creatures." Pray consider of some method to be taken and add a clause to the bill for their relief. *Signed by Richard Massey, Mayor, and two others.*

EARL OF PEMBROKE to ALEXANDER POPHAM [and the other Deputy Lieutenants of Co. Wilts].

1706, April 9. London—I send you an order from the Council relating to Romish priests and Papists, and desire you to use all care in putting it in force. *Attested copy.*

*On the same sheet,*

*The Privy Council to the Earl of Pembroke.*

1706, April 14th. Council Chamber at Kensington—*Her Majesty desires you to cause the Deputy Lieutenants of co. Wilts. to take an account of all Papists and reputed Papists in the county, with their qualities, estates and places of abode, in accordance with the request made to her by Parliament. Copy.*

ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, Oxford.

1709, November 19. Lambeth—Order by Archbishop Tenison to the clergy of his province to cause Dr. Bernard Gardiner, warden of All Souls, to appear at Lambeth on Monday, 12th of December, to answer to an appeal brought against him by Richard Stephens, fellow of the college. *Latin. Copy.*

*On the same sheet,*

1709, July 11th—*Certificate by Mark Sayer, Proctor of the Court of Arches, on behalf of Richard Stephens. It is decreed by the statutes of the college and especially that de tempore assumendi sacros ordines that all members of the college are to proceed to take orders within two years after their regentship, unless for legitimate impediments approved by the Warden, &c., and if any member violate this statute after being duly named, he is to be excluded from the college. But by other statutes and especially those de habitu sociorum and de modo et tempore devoti dicendi horas canonicas it is permitted that there may be bachelors and doctors of medicine. The Warden, Dr. Gardiner, has summoned Richard Stephens, for many years a student of the science of medicine, before the two years are completed, and has ordered him to take deacon's orders within six months from July 12, when the two years are computed to be terminated—although Stephens has laid before him the impediments and reasons to the contrary—which will be to his no small prejudice. He being therefore thus oppressed and injured, his proctor appeals to the Archbishop, praying him to hear and determine the cause. Latin.*

## ARCHBISHOP TENISON to the WARDEN OF ALL SOULS.

1709[-10], January 10. Lambeth—You will herewith receive the interlocutory decrees which I have made in the appeals lately brought before me by Mr. Dod and Mr. Stephens, which I would have you take care may be entered in the college books. There are several other important matters relating to the college which need inspection, but I will reserve them till my visitation.

*On the same sheet,*

*Copy of the decree concerning Pierce Dod. Latin.*  
*With memorandum that there was the like for Mr. Stephens.*  
*Also*

[1710]—*Reasons presented to the Archbishop, on the part of the Warden and Dean, why the appeal of Richard Stephens and Pierce Dod should be finally dismissed.*

## SIR CONSTANTINE PHIPPS.

1714, October 20. [Oxford]—Presentation of Sir Constantine Phipps, late Lord Chancellor of Ireland and one of the Lords Justices there, to the Vice-Chancellor, &c., of Oxford University for the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. Presented by Jos. Trapp of Wadham College. *In Dr. Clarke's handwriting. Latin.*

## DR. GEORGE CLARKE.

[1715?]-Verses addressed to Dr. Clarke upon his gift of a marble entablature for the altar of the chapel of All Souls' College, Oxford. *Latin.*

## EXCHEQUER.

1716[-17], March 14—An account of the public debts at the Exchequer, exclusive of the deficiencies of Parliament grants. [*In Dr. Clarke's handwriting.*]

## WILLIAM SHIPPEN to [SECRETARY CRAGGS \*?].

1720, July 6. Norfolk Street—Thanking him for his kind offer to admit him so largely into the South Sea subscription, and regretting that he cannot bring himself on any consideration to comply with so handsome a compliment.

W. HUDDSFORD to DR. [GEORGE] CLARKE, All Soul's College, Oxford.

1720, October 18. Bath—Concerning verses written by him in honour of General Stewart and sent to Dr. Clarke for criticism.

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\* See Craggs' letter to George Clarke, *Egerton MSS.* 2618, No. 95, British Museum,

WARDEN B[ERNARD] GARDINER to GEORGE CLARKE, Esq.,  
London.

1720, December 5. All Souls [College, Oxford]—"I return you Mr. Huddesford's verses, with a few, perhaps needless, alterations, which you will do with as you please, so his name be only mentioned." Please send me the name of the young lad of Wadham whom you recommended for a chorister's place. There are no almanacs to be had yet, but Mr. Vice-Chancellor has promised me yours as soon as any. Mr. Townsend and Mr. Piesley are gone to London. The Master got safe to Bath, and if I cannot get rid of the pains I have long had, I must go thither, too, I think.

*Overleaf*, the alterations referred to.

Verses on GENERAL STEWART by W. Huddesford.

1720—In praise of his benefactions to Oxford University and of his prowess in the Irish wars, at Carrickfergus. *In Huddesford's writing.*

The SAME.

1620—Another copy, in Dr. Clarke's handwriting, with the emendations proposed by Dr. Bernard Gardiner.

The DAILY JOURNAL.

1721, April 27—Copy of the *Daily Journal* for this date, containing a copy of the above verses: "To the honourable General Stewart, on his Excellency's bountiful gift to All Souls College, Oxford." Prefaced by note to the "Author" of the *Daily Journal*.

"The following copy of verses—supposed to be written by a gentleman whose style you cannot wholly be unacquainted with—is handed about the University. If it deserves a place in your journal, you'll oblige an old friend."

HIGH SHERIFF, GRAND JURY, &c., of Co. Oxford to the KING.

[1721?]-Assuring his Majesty of their loyalty and expressing their grief at "the seditious principles so openly maintained." Fifteen signatures. [*The only name amongst the signatures which is to be found in the list of High Sheriffs for co. Oxford is that of John Dewe, who was Sheriff in 1721.*]

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX [DEAN OF NORWICH] to FRANCIS GWYNNE.

1721-2, February 5. Norwich—I have received your letter, and would have answered it sooner, but "I am now so broken by age and infirmity that I have few intervals of health to enable me to do anything."

"I have indeed often said that there is wanting a good history of the East from the time of Mahomet and that there are sufficient materials to be had for it from the writings of the Arabs, of which there is a great treasure at Oxford, especially since the addition of Dr. Pocock's MSS.; but I could not say so much of the Mamelukes, of whom I know no author that has written in particular, neither did they deserve that any should." For they were a base lot of people, the scum of the East, "who having treacherously destroyed the Tobidæ, their masters, reigned in their stead, and bating that they finished the expulsion of the western Christians out of the East—where they barbarously destroyed Tripoli and Antioch and several other cities—scarce did anything worthy to be recorded in history." Their empire in Egypt lasted from [A.D.] 1250 to 1517, during which time they had above fifty reigns, in which their Kings mostly ascended the throne by the murder or deposition of their predecessors, so quick a succession not allowing time for any of them to do any great matters. They gloried in having been slaves—Mamalues in Arabic signifying a slave—and used to take the name of their masters in addition to their own.

But what you mistook me to say of the Mamalues is true of the East in general, for there are many good histories in the Arabian and Persian languages, and the revolutions and considerable events afford materials for a very good history, which we here wholly want. For from the time of Mahomet there were four large empires erected in the East in succession, whose transactions deserve recording as well as those of Greeks or Romans.

The first was that of the Saracens, "which in eighty years extended itself as largely as that of the Romans did in eight hundred." It began in [A.D.] 622 and "expired all at once" in 936, the governors of the Provinces each declaring himself sovereign in his government and leaving the Caliph only Bagdad, "where he and his successors continued for several ages after as sacred persons, being, as it were, the Popes of the Mahometan sect."

The empire of the Saracens being weakened, the Seljukian Turks from the northern parts of Tartary made a terrible invasion upon it in the year 1037, one part founding the kingdom of Iconium, where in 1300 Othman founded the Turkish empire that is now in being, of which Knowles hath given us a very good history.

The other part, under Togrul Beg, fixed their empire in Persia, where he and his successors reigned until they were suppressed by Jingiz Can, King of the ancient Moguls.

This mighty Prince, who began to reign in the year 1202, founded the largest empire that ever was in the world, for it contained all China and India, and extended westward through Tartary, Russia, Poland and Hungary as far as the Baltic, Oder and Adriatic. Whenever a general Council was called, two years were allowed for the meeting. This empire lasted

till the death of Bahadur Can, when it had the same end with that of the Saracens, the governors of the Provinces by a general conspiracy usurping the sovereignty and so extinguishing the empire. "And we may reasonably expect that the empire of the Othmans will, some time or other, have the same fate. It hath been several times attempted by some of the Bashaws, but it hath hitherto failed of success, for want of the general concurrence of the rest." Mons. Petis de la Croix has published in French a history of this empire, in compiling which he has spent ten years, but I have not seen the book. From the ruins of this empire, rose that of the later Moguls, founded by the famous Tamerlane in the year 1368, who overran all the eastern part of the world with "prodigious success of victory." At his death he divided his empire amongst his sons. "The posterity of him that had India for his part of the legacy still reign there, unless the many revolutions and convulsions of government which have happened there since the death of Aurang Zeb have not by this time extinguished it. Of this race of the Mogul Kings in India, one Signor Manuchi, a Venetian, who had been physician in the court of Aurang Zeb for near forty years, hath written a very good history," published in French and in English.

Of the materials at Oxford, there is a full account "in the large catalogue of the MSS. of England, printed at Oxford about twenty-five years since. Amongst these are the two famous historians of the East, Abulfeda and Jannubius, which are now printing at Oxford in Arabic and Latin by Mons. Gagnier, a French gentleman, well skilled in this sort of learning." But if Lord Pembroke desires further information of what the East can afford us in this nature, I recommend Mons. Harbelot's "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*," a book written in French some years since. A supplement to this is now being published at Rome. The greatest difficulty in writing such a history—next to the fact that the Arabic tongue must be thoroughly mastered and also that nearly all the documents are in manuscript—will be reconciling the contradictory accounts of the Arabic and Byzantine writers, and the same may be said of the Latin and Arabic accounts of the Holy War. The Arabic writers are more exact in their chronology than the Byzantine, and seem to be more impartial. In order to understand oriental history, a new geography is necessary; the names given to countries and cities by the Greeks and Romans being now wholly unknown in the East. If that of Abulfeda were printed with a good version, it would answer the matter. After the Saracens had plundered the Greek libraries and attained a knowledge of the Greek learning their writers deal as fully with their famous scholars as with their famous warriors, and if the history of the East here proposed should be made the same method should be followed.

I have endeavoured to answer your letter as well as my shattered head would give me leave to dictate it,



## ROGER, EARL OF ORRERY.

1721[-2], February—Extracts made at this date by Dr. George Clarke from the "MSS. memoirs of the most remarkable passages in the life and death" of the Earl, "written by Mr. Thomas Morrice, his Lordship's chaplain, and found amongst his MSS. after his death. Lent me February 16, 1721, by Mr. John Conyers, prepared for the press by John Walrond of Ottery St. Mary in Devon, November 15th, 1711." [*The extracts are from the Life printed in 1742, with the collection of State letters, but with some variations—e.g., Dr. Clarke's note, "Mr. Markham [tutor of the young Earl], "discovers Maresius preaching one of Bishop Andrewes' sermons at Geneva" has no counterpart in the printed Life.*]

## MR. BROMLEY.

1722, December—Memoranda, by Dr. Clarke, concerning some business of Mr. Bromley and a letter written by him to Mr. Walpole.

## BISHOP OF ROCHESTER and Others.

1723, May 9—Examinations of Bingley, Skeene, Stewart, Gordon and Corbet Kynaston in the proceedings against Bishop Atterbury, George Kelly, &c. *Partially printed in Parl. History, Vol. VIII., p. 265, and mentioned in State Trials, Vol. XVI., p. 618, 674, &c.*

## EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

1732, November 13—Copy by Dr. Clarke of the account of certain incidents in the civil war, including the fight of Chalgrove Field and the death of Hampden, taken from the Earl's *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. II., pp. 202-227. *Endorsed by Dr. Clarke:* "These five sheets contain an exact copy of that part of Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Life [*sic*], written all in his Lordship's own hand, which is lodged in the Bodleian Library, to remain there for twelve months, from next Christmas. November 13, 1732."

## The SAME.

[1732?]*—*Like copy of "Characters of persons with whom the Earl of Clarendon was conversant in the beginning of his time," being extracts from the *Life*, pp. 16-30, folio edition of 1759.

## The SAME.

[1732?]*—*Like copy of the Earl's account of his doings in Madrid when he and Lord Cottington were sent on an embassy

thither by King Charles II. in September, 1649. Partly printed in the *Life*, p. 113, and partly in the *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III., p. 257, *et seq.* of the folio edition of 1704.

DR. GEORGE CLARKE.

1734 [December 14th]—MS. copy of Dr. Clarke's will.  
[Printed. *British Museum press mark*, 698 h 17 (2).]

CARMEN BRITANNICUM.

[1737]—Elegy in Welsh, with English translation interlined, upon the death of Queen Caroline, wife of George II.

WILLIAM SHIPPEN to his brother, Dr. [ROBERT] SHIPPEN,  
Principal of Brazen-Nose College, Oxon.

1739, May 26. Norfolk Street—The enclosed from the Recorder of Chester was brought to me yesterday by Sir Robert Grosvenor, and at his request I send it to you. Whatever you do, I would have you give the baronet a very civil answer, as he speaks with great respect of you. Lord Arran has repeated his invitation and we shall all wait on him to-day and drink your health. "I wish the person you intend for Billy's tutor would qualify himself to instruct the boy well in logic, which grows too much out of fashion." I hope the boy will be a credit to your college.

SIR JOHN BROUGH.

Undated—Notes by Dr. George Clarke on Sir John Brough's "Sovereignty of the Seas."

DR. GEORGE CLARKE.

Undated—Drafts, much corrected, of dialogues (being translations from Fontenelle's "*Dialogues des Morts*"). The first six "*Dialogues des Morts Anciens*" are all here, and in some cases two or three versions of them; and also the second six "*Dialogues des Morts Anciens avec des Modernes*," and there are two from the second series of "*Dialogues des Morts Modernes*," viz.: "*Paracelsus and Molière*" and "*Mary Stuart and Rizzio*." All in Dr. George Clarke's handwriting.

J. A. GR. to MR. SHIPPEN.

Undated—Concerning the validity of the patents whereby the Earl of Glamorgan was created Duke of Beaufort and Somerset by King Charles I.

DR. EDWARD GREAVES.

Undated—"Extracts from Mr. Greave's pocket books in the Savilian study, Oxford," being notes on Rome, with diagrams. In Dr. Clarke's handwriting.

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. GEORGE CLARKE.

The first portion of this, dated at the top November 1st, 1720, extends to the death of King William in 1701. The later part, in different ink and on pages evidently inserted, carries the narrative to 1727; and the final paragraph—again in different ink—closes with the Parliamentary election of 1734. The whole is in Dr. Clarke's own handwriting, and the corrections and insertions appear to have been made at two or three different times.

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" 1720, November 1—It is not that I think anything which has happened to me is so remarkable as to deserve to be put in writing that I make the following memoranda, but I was willing to set them down that I might have the more frequent occasions of reflecting upon God's mercy and goodwill to me, and as well to beg pardon for not having employed the benefits I have received from him more to his honour and glory and the advantage of my fellow creatures, as return him my most humble praises and thanksgiving for those blessings he has been graciously pleased to vouchsafe me in the tract of a life which is now run into a great length. Sometime or other perhaps I may have leisure to connect these disjointed hints, but at present it shall suffice barely to take notice where several things fell out which I am most concerned to remember.

My father was Sir William Clarke, Secretary at War; my mother, Mrs. Dorothy, the youngest daughter of Thomas Hilliard, Esq.

I was born in the Pell Mell, London, the 7th of May, 1661, and nursed by my mother, for which I shall ever think myself as much obliged to her as for bringing me into the world.

My father had his right leg shot off in the four days' sea fight in the Downs in 1666, and was buried in Harwich Church, where may be seen his true character, as I have been told by those who knew him, in an excellent Latin epitaph, made by his friend Dr. Samuel Barrow, who was best acquainted with him. He left no child but myself.

In his lifetime, as I was going down to the Cockpit with him and my mother in a new glass coach, which was just then come into fashion, the coach door which I stood at flew open as we were over against the Horse Guards at Whitehall, and I tumbled out. My legs fell into a hole in the pavement, so that I received no prejudice on them by the coach wheels, which went pretty fast over them, but I had a great wound in my forehead, the mark of which remains to this day.

My father, as is very truly said in his epitaph, left but a moderate estate, and much the greater part of that was lost in my mother's widowhood by a purchase of a bad title at Grantchester, near Cambridge.

A few years after my father's death, to my great good fortune and her own happiness, my mother married that excellent person, Dr. Samuel Barrow, physician in ordinary to King Charles II. and Judge Advocate of the army. They lived together twelve or fourteen years and were a pattern of conjugal affection, and indeed I believe there never was a more humane, good-natured, virtuous and truly religious couple. I think they had a child, but it died very soon after it was born.

I was put to school to one Mr. Gordon, a Scotsman, who lived in what is since called Jermyn Street. He was a good man and had most of the gentlemen's sons of the neighbourhood, and though a Roman Catholic took great care to prevent all disputes between the Protestant and Papist boys, and never endeavoured himself to bring any of the Protestants over to his persuasion. I stayed at school till I was somewhat above ten years old, and then left it upon falling ill of the small-pox, and never returned to that or went to any other, but my father-in-law took the kind trouble to read the Greek and Latin classic authors with me, and so continued till he sent me to the University. During the time I was under his care he gave me opportunities of learning to dance, fence, wrestle, write, cast accounts, and as he was most indulgent to me took me with him into all companies and places where anything was to be seen worth observation, that, as he used to say, there might be as little new to me in the world as could be when I grew up to be a man.

The beginning of December, 1676, I went down to Oxford, and by my father-in-law's direction entered myself of Brazen-Nose College, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Ralph Rawson, an old Cavalier and admirable tutor. He used to read to us constantly twice a day, not excepting Sundays. I was the last pupil he took, and he left the college to go to his parsonage of Rowright [Rollright] in about a year, much too soon for my advantage. After he went away, I had not anybody to read to me, but took Mr. Thos. Millington, a very ingenious fellow of the college, into my chamber, and had his friendship and assistance when I doubted of anything in my studies. [*Margin*: Tho. Millington found dead in his bed April 8th, 1689.]

There was a very hard frost at the time I came to Oxford, so that the Thames was frozen over, and at the Act in July, 1677, I spoke verses in the theatre upon that subject. Bishop Fell, I remember, brought Mr. Simon Harcourt, since Lord Harcourt, and me acquainted before the Act, when we both were to have spoken verses, but Mr. Harcourt, with three others, were reserved to speak to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University, who came hither in his way to Ireland the August after, at which time several gentlemen who came with the Duke had honorary degrees given them, and Dr. South, the public orator, presented some of them in a very merry manner.

I had a square cap given me for speaking, and was the first commoner, I think, that ever wore one in Oxford. [*Margin*: I went to Cheshire with Mr. Millington, and so to Holywell.]

I took my bachelor's degree at Act term, 1679, when I was three years standing in terms, according to the privilege of the University, and determined the Lent after [*margin*: The dispute with the collector about the gracious days. I was put up on two post-nons in the scheme, and the Vice-Chancellor ordered I should have the collector's days and school], being still of Brazen-Nose College, but being designed for the study of the Common Law, and entered of the Inner Temple by Sir William Pulteney, when Reader, before I came to Oxford, my father-in-law directed me to come up to town for that purpose, and in order to it I put off my chamber at Brazen-Nose, with design to leave the University, but a vacancy happening just at that time at All Souls, by Archbishop Sancroft's turning Trumbull out of his fellowship, it was resolved I should try my fortune at the ensuing election, which I did accordingly, and by the assistance of my good friend, Dr. Richard Adams, fellow, and the only person I knew of the college, had a majority of the fellows for me.

But that society having, at that time, generally refused an oath which the Archbishop enjoined each elector to take or else to lose his vote in the election, the Warden, Dr. James, made a devolution to the Archbishop, who was pleased to appoint me fellow, together with three others, whom he put into the room of Mr. Ayloffe, Mr. Bishop and Mr. Southcote, who had been chosen that election by the fellows upon the recommendation of three who resigned to them, and we were entered in All Souls the 1st of December, 1680. Mr. Ayloffe and the other two who were put by had recourse to Hale,\* and a *mandamus* came from the King's Bench to the Warden to put in Mr. Ayloffe, &c., or show cause why he did not. The Warden's answer was that the college had a local visitor, who was the proper judge of all these matters, whereupon the Court dismissed the petition. I believe there have not been any resignations since. The three put in by the Archbishop at the same time with me were Miles Stapleton, since Doctor of Divinity and Prebendary of Worcester; Mr. John Norris, rector of Bemerton by Salisbury, who has left many things behind him in prose and verse, and Mr. Thomas Gardner, who quitted his fellowship after the Revolution, upon account of the oaths.

My coming into this college diverted me from going to the Temple, and my father-in-law, the year after, finding his health and strength very sensibly decline, endeavoured to get me joined with him in his commission of Judge Advocate, which the King did not care to do, but was pleased to say he would give me the employment if Dr. Barrow would resign it, so a

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\* If the Lord Chief Justice is meant, Dr. Clarke is mistaken, as he died in 1676.

patent passed for me in March, 1681, and was the first that ever was granted for that place, which had always been held before by commission, but it being necessary that the Judge Advocate should administer an oath at Courts Martial and upon several other occasions, it was thought requisite that he should have the Broad Seal to empower him to do it, and so it became a patent place, though only held during pleasure.

The 21st of March after, it pleased God to take away my good father-in-law, to whom I had a thousand obligations and whose memory I shall always respect as I ought to do, for the tender care he had of me and the great love and kindness he ever showed me.

My mother buried him in Fulham Church, and when she died herself desired to be laid by him, as she was, and I put up a tomb there in memory of them both. They lie in lead, in a vault which I made for them, and I built some seats in a gallery at the west end of the church, at the desire of the parish, in consideration of this burying place, which belongs to me, and is railed in with an iron rail, set about the tomb. My mother continued some time at Fulham after the death of my father-in-law, and then removed to London.

I did not take my degree of Master of Arts till the 18th of April, 1683, losing a year by being Fellow of All Souls. There being hardly any land forces in England but the Horse and Foot Guards there were not very frequent occasions for Courts Martial. The first after I came in was upon a complaint of false musters against Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who made himself so well with Mr. Blathwayt, Secretary at War, that all endeavours were used to avoid the bringing it to that sort of trial, and whether to favour Sir Robert or to engross all business to himself or that he was ignorant of the methods of the army, Mr. Blathwayt did all he could to keep off a Court Martial, and would have had the matter heard at his Office, by what he called a council of war, where the Secretary at War was to be, and not the Judge Advocate. Upon getting an intimation of this design, I immediately went down to Windsor and waited upon the King, whom I acquainted with it, and had the pleasure, as Mr. Blathwayt had the mortification, to hear his Majesty disapprove Mr. Blathwayt's project in pretty harsh terms and order a Court Martial to examine into the false musters that were laid to Sir Robert's charge. This put a stop to the attempts that were on foot to render the Judge-Advocate's place useless, and which, if they had succeeded, would of course have put an end to the employment. [*Margin*: Dispute before the King at Hampton Court about my seat in the Court Martial.] After this, in 1684, I was sent to hold a Court Martial at Plymouth, which was perfectly new, not to say irregular, for all Courts Martial till that time were held at the headquarters. I satisfied the King that this was a breaking into rules and improper to be

done, so that his Majesty would have excused me from going and bid me get anybody there to do the business for me, but I answered that if he thought it for his service that a Court Martial should be held there, I should not think much of my pains in going, but that it would be expensive to his Majesty. Accordingly I went thither, and at my return had his Majesty's approbation of what I had done in a very gracious manner, and with that condescension and humanity which were so inseparable from that Prince's actions.

When I was at Plymouth, I went a shooting one day with some of Governor Kirk's officers, lately arrived from Tangier, to the Mewstone, that lies about . . . from the place, and was in great danger of being cast away among the rocks as we were returning. I went to see St. Nicholas' island that lies over against the citadel; they told us that Major-General Lambert, who had been prisoner there many years, died there, I think the March before. He always loved gardening, and took a delight, during his confinement, to work in a little one he had there. One day, as he was at work, some gentlemen came in a boat to see the island, and the Major-General went in to change his night gown that he might wait upon the company in a more decent dress, and caught a cold that brought him to his grave.

[*Margin*: I changed my faculty in the college in King Charles' time, the Archbishop of Canterbury recommending it to the society.]

Upon King Charles' death in 1684-5, his successor, King James, renewed my patent and increased my salary. The summer of that year the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, and I asked the King's leave to go down to the west to the army. His Majesty kept me in London seven or eight days, intending to send some orders by me, as he was pleased to say, so that I did not get to Bristol until the news came thither of the Duke of Monmouth's being taken nor join the army till it was separating at Warminster, from whence I went to see the Bath and afterwards to wait upon my mother, who was at Pydeltrenthide [Puddletrenthide] in Dorsetshire with my cousin Oxenbregge. I had not been there above two or three days when I was forced to ride post to London to be present at the trial of some of the soldiers of the regiments that came from Holland, and had declared that they would be for the black Jemmy, against the white. Soon after, Sir Leoline Jenkins died, and I was set up to succeed him as Parliament man for the University. Dr. Oldys, of the Commons, opposed me, but I carried it by a majority of 79 voices, to the best of my remembrance. After the election I went up to London, but before I got thither the Parliament was prorogued upon the known difference between them and the Court about employing Popish officers. I found that the King was beginning to closet the members [*margin*: Memorandum, the Bishop of London's trial], and thought it best for me to keep

out of his sight, and therefore returned to my college, but I was no sooner there than Obadiah Walker, the Papist Master of University College, enquired if the three questions had been put to me, and upon being told that they had not said he would take care they should: that my mind was well known upon these points and that my employment would be a very good one for Mr. Matson, one of his converts, who was then by him. Mr. Matson wrote a letter to one of my friends to offer me 300*l.* for my place, which he said it was not possible for me to keep, but he insisted that I should give security to return him the money if Whitehall should *come not to be favourable* [*margin: Not prove*] to those of his persuasion, or words to that purpose. But I rejected the offer, and making Mr. Wm. Latten my deputy [*margin: Went to Mr. Coningsby's at Hampton Court, where I found Lord Lisbone and his lady, and Dick Gorges, whom I saw there first*] went into Herefordshire with Mr. Adams and stayed there till Dr. Leopold Finch, Warden of All Souls, came to call upon me to go a College progress into Wales. We proceeded as far as Abberbury [*Abenbury?*] and somewhat further, but the weather proving exceeding bad returned to Shrewsbury, and from thence back to Dr. Adams at Marden, where we rested ourselves two or three days and went to Gloucester, whither Dr. Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, came on purpose to Dr. Jane's, the Dean, to meet us. From Gloucester we waited upon the Bishop back to Bristol, and Dr. Jane among the rest, and stayed there some time, being entertained in that kind and generous manner with which his Lordship always uses his friends. At last we parted, Dr. Jane returning to Gloucester and the Warden and I going by Bath to Longleat. The new gardens were then making, and we remained there, I think, about a fortnight, very much to our satisfaction. Among other things, Lord Weymouth showed us the *Character of a Trimmer*, in MS., of which he said there were only five copies in being. Sir William Coventry was named for the author of it, but after the Revolution, George, Marquis of Halifax, told me that he wrote it.

From Longleat we went by Hungerford to Oxford, but the spirit of closeting being very active, I went to Peterborough in Northamptonshire to visit my good friends, Captain Orme and his lady, that I might be out of Obadiah Walker's way, and having travelled about that country and seen the most remarkable places in it, went to Astrop Wells for a few days and from thence to London, my friends writing me word that my absence was taken notice of, and I thinking it as good to be turned out in the town as country. But it happened that I never spoke to about the Penal laws and Test till after the Parliament was dissolved, and then Lord Craven, who had seen me at Court the day before, came in the morning to my lodging before I was up and told me that he was to ask me some questions, which he put to all Justices of the Peace



and Deputy-Lieutenants by the King's command. I soon satisfied him that I was neither, and so his Lordship went away in a little confusion. My travelling that summer saved my employment, for if I had been in London I should no doubt have been put into the Commission of the Peace when the Secretary at War, Commissaries, &c., were. The army was after this encamped at Hounslow Heath, where there were many Courts Martial, and I constantly assisted at them, but a standing one was appointed to be held every week at the Horse Guards, and the general officers to be Presidents by turns. The intention of establishing this court was to withdraw the soldiery from the civil power, and all matters, as well civil as military, relating to the army were to be brought before them. Now and then things arose that made it proper to have the opinion of the King's Counsel, and one Mr. Beddingfield, a Roman Catholic, was appointed to attend the Court Martial. The Roman Catholics who were of it pressed mightily to have him present at the debates, but I soon foresaw what the consequence of that would be, and carried it by the help of my Protestant friends that he should wait without till there was occasion to consult him, and that happening hardly ever after, he grew weary of attending, and I was rid of a very dangerous competitor.

In the year 1687 King James came from Holywell to Oxford, and I was one of the Masters of Arts who rode out to meet him. [*Margin*: And appointed to speak to him at the gate if he came to see the college.] The next morning I went to his levée at Christchurch and found nobody with him but the Duke of Beaufort except Father Warner and some priests, who stood at a distance in a corner of the room. The King, seeing me in a gown, asked me what college I was of, and upon my saying All Souls he told me that we held our lands by praying for souls. I endeavoured to set his Majesty right by assuring him that there was no such thing in our Charter, but that our Founder having diverted the King from falling upon the Church lands by persuading him to a war with France, among other motives which he had for founding the college as the promoting of learning, piety, &c., one was the praying for the souls of the persons who were killed in that war, but that it was not made the tenure of our lands. His Majesty answered in a little heat that he had it from our visitor, Archbishop Sheldon, who ought to know. It was not good manners in me to pursue that point any further, and I was told afterwards that I was but an ill courtier in going so far.

Before the King left Oxford he sent for the members of Magdalen College and chid them very severely for not obeying him in the choice of a President.

The King put himself into so great passion that he changed colour and faltered in his speech, but Lord Sunderland stood by his elbow with much sedate malice in his face; the gentlemen of Magdalen's were all the while upon their knees. As

they were going out of the room the last time, for they were chid twice the same afternoon, I heard Charnock cry to them: Come, let's obey the King, let's obey the King, upon which Mr. Wilks turned about and told him with a good deal of firmness: Mr. Charnock, we must obey God before the King. I think he spoke loud enough for the King to hear him. After the King went from Oxford, I went with Dr. Edisbury to his brother's house at Erthig, by Wrexham, and several times visited my good friend, Dr. Wainwright, the Chancellor of Chester, who died but the beginning of last month (of October, 1720), of a cancer in his mouth. There I met Dr. Cartwright, the Bishop of Chester, who had shown great complaisance to Dr. Leybourne, the King's Bishop, as he called him, and all the priests who came with him to Chester. He would have had his Chancellor and Consistory meet Leybourne when he came thither, but the Chancellor honestly refused it, as being against the law to acknowledge anyone that acted by authority of the See of Rome. This accident of meeting Bishop Cartwright put a difficulty upon me when he came to Oxford as Commissioner to visit Magdalen College, for he sent me word that if I would not come to see him he would come to see me, whereupon I was obliged to go dine with him, and I well remember after dinner, as we were drinking a bottle of wine, he asked me why the gentlemen of the Church of England were so averse from complying with the King, who meant to give them a better security than the Test and Penal laws. Says he: Would not anyone who has a bond part with it for a judgment? and the King will give the Church a judgment for their security. Lord Chief Justice Wright, who was by, though one of the Commissioners, could not contain himself, but answered: My Lord, the Church of England has a statute, which is better than a judgment, and would anybody part with a better security for a worse? After this my old friend, Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was put into possession of the Presidentship of Magdalen College. It was pity that he ran into the measures of these times; he was a man of ambition.

Next year I was at Astrop Wells [*margin*: Went to Castle Ashby to the Bishop of London and Dr. Jane: when there heard of Mr. Sydney, afterwards Lord Romney, going to Holland], and sent for from thence to Windsor upon occasion of the Portsmouth officers refusing to admit Papists into their regiments. A Court Martial was held in that room of the castle which was afterwards the Princess of Denmark's Presence Chamber. The officers endeavoured at first to excuse themselves from disobedience by alleging that orders were not regularly sent them to take in the Papists. But it was carried in the Court Martial that the orders had been sent them in due form. The officers were called in again and acquainted with the opinion of the Court, but told at the same time that no advantage should be made of their mistake if they would now take the Papists in, which they all refused to do. I

waited upon the King immediately, with the President, to give him an account of what passed, and can never forget the concern he was in, which showed itself by a dejection rather than anger; indeed at that time he began to be apprehensive of the Prince of Orange's design, so that the change which appeared in him is not to be wondered at.

The King came to London soon after upon receiving more certain accounts of the preparations in Holland, and there were frequent meetings of the general officers at Major-General Worden's lodgings to consider what was necessary to be done, supposing the Dutch should come. Among other things the Articles of War were revised, and I went to Sir Thos. Powys, Attorney General, for his opinion how far martial law might be executed if an enemy should land. Sir Thomas was in some confusion at the question, and did not care to give a direct answer.

In November, 1688, the Prince of Orange landed at Exeter (*sic*), and the King went to Salisbury, which was the headquarters. Dr. Radcliffe and I set out of London shortly after and went to Winchester, where we stayed two nights, and on the Saturday designed to go to Salisbury, but before we came thither we met the King with the Prince of Denmark, Lord Feversham and Lord Peterborough in his coach and the army all marching back. We went with the King to Andover and waited upon him at his quarters, with the Prince of Denmark and Duke of Ormond. I can never forget the confusion the Court was in; the Lord Churchill had gone over to the Prince of Orange from Salisbury the night before, and the Duke of Grafton that morning; the King knew not whom to trust, and the fright was so great that they were apt to believe an impossible report just then brought in that the Prince of Orange was come with twelve thousand horse between Warminster and Salisbury. Upon hearing it the Lord Feversham, the General, never questioned the truth, but cried out: Zounce, then Kirk be asleep. This I was an ear witness of. Everybody in this hurly-burly was thinking of himself, and nobody minded the King, who came up to Dr. Radcliffe and asked him what was good for the bleeding of his nose: it was the last time that ever I saw him. Dr. Radcliffe and I returned with the Prince of Denmark to his quarters, and from thence I carried the Doctor and Harry Wharton to a friend of mine, Mr. Stokes, at Whitchurch, where we found the house full of the officers of Lord Dartmouth's regiment. The Doctor and Mr. Wharton went very early next morning to meet the Prince of Denmark, Duke of Ormond, &c., by Sir Wm. Kingsmill's house at Highclere, but missed them, and the Doctor returned to London. I stayed that day at Whitchurch, and as the master and mistress of the house were at dinner Lord Lichfield opened the parlour door: his Lordship was a stranger to them, but upon my telling them who he was they invited him to sit down, which he did. After dinner, Col. Sandys, one of the

Captains of the first regiment of guards, of which his Lordship had been made Colonel the day before, came to acquaint him that the Prince of Denmark, Duke of Ormond, &c., were gone in to the Prince of Orange. Lord Lichfield came up to me and told me the news, and said with a sigh: Poor man (meaning the King) they will leave him so fast they will not give him time to make terms. Next day I went to Oxford to my college, and stayed there till after we had the account of the King's going away, the first time, when he was stopped at Faversham. Immediately I went to London, and after the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared King and Queen, had my commission of Judge Advocate renewed, and a deputy allowed me for the forces which were to go to Flanders under the command of the now Duke of Marlborough. [*Margin: Memorandum.* The delay to my commission till private ends were served in the deputy, who was Mr. Whitfield, Lord Marlborough's secretary. In May or the latter end of April, 1689, Mr. Warden fell ill in my bed, and by Dr. Radcliffe's advice, when I was abroad, was immediately removed to a lodging in Covent Garden, where his illness proved to be the small-pox. I was with him most of the time by day and night till his recovery, before which his sister, the Lady Jane, was brought to the same house, where she died of the small-pox. At the desire of Lord and Lady Weymouth I put down in writing how she had a mind her things should be disposed of after her death, and after reading it to her she declared it her will, but could not sign it, for she was blind with the disease.] Commissioners being appointed that summer of 1689 to view and regulate the army, I offered myself to go along with them, which the King agreed to. My good friends, Mr. Charles Toll, deputy Paymaster, and Mr. Commissary Crawford and I had a coach and six horses to carry us, and made a very pleasant journey. They two went directly to York, but I accompanied the Commissioners to Hull, in my way thither. At York, Mr. Crawford fell ill, and remained behind there till he was in a condition to return home. We went on to Newcastle, and from thence I took post for Edinburgh, where I met Sir John Lanier, who commanded the forces that besieged the castle, and Lord Colchester. The evening I came thither the Duke of Gordon, who was in the castle, desired to capitulate and to have till next morning to bring in his demands. I asked Sir John Lanier to go along with him to the treaty, but he said the persons were already named who were to accompany him, but if I would be at the Parliament Close he would come to me and let me know what was done. I had not been at the Close above half an hour when Sir John came and told me that the treaty was broke off; that when both sides were met before the castle a man slipped in, whom the Duke of Gordon would not deliver up, and without he did that Sir John would not proceed any further. Sir John supposed that the man came from the Highlands. The Scots who came about us seemed

to be pleased that the treaty was broke off and talked of the strength of the castle, intimating that it was impregnable and indeed it could never have been taken if the siege had been carried on in the manner it was begun, for though they could have made a breach in the part where they battered it, it was impossible to storm it, the rock being so steep on that side: but there was no likelihood that two 18 pounders would make one, and those were all that I could see in the battery. Sir John Lanier spoke to the Duke of Hamilton, who was High Commissioner, for his consent to raise batteries from the city side as the most proper for that purpose, but the Duke showed great unwillingness to give it and said it would occasion the castle's firing into the town, which they had agreed not to do, provided they were not attacked from that side. Sir John's answer was that he saw no other way of taking the castle and that he was sure he could soon be master of it by making his approaches in that manner. But the Commissioner continuing averse to it, Sir John was forced to tell him that he must be obliged to let the King know what he had proposed and the Duke's answer, and that he had brought Lord Colchester with him on purpose to be a witness of what passed between them. This I had from Sir John or Lord Colchester or both at that time and place. At last the Duke consented, and the castle surrendered that night, I think, or next morning. I remember they began to fire small shot into the town as soon as Sir John broke off the treaty, and he and I were forced to go close under the houses in our way to the shops, where I had a mind to purchase some of their plaids. I waited upon Duke Hamilton at Holyrood House and was received very civilly: he would have had me go to Stirling to see the beauty of their country, but I was obliged to be back at Newcastle on Thursday, so that I stayed but twenty-six hours at Edinburgh and was out in all but from Monday about twelve a clock to Thursday about three in the afternoon, when I found my company preparing to set out for Hexham, and thither I went with them that night. I undertook this fatiguing excursion at the desire of Lord Monmouth and Mr. Tho. Wharton, who were both of them Commissioners for regulating the army, and had relations in Scotland whom they had a mind to visit, but Lord Monmouth stayed at Newcastle and only Mr. Wharton went. While the Commissioners stayed at Newcastle, I went to Hepburne, where my grandfather Hilyard lived some years before he died, and saw the place in Jarrow Church hard by where he and my grandmother lie buried. [*Margin: Vide the epitaph.*] As my mother informed me, they were forced to leave Hantshire, where their residence was, to avoid paying a fine of 10,000*l.*, laid upon my grandfather by the Star Chamber or High Commission Court for some words which a malicious neighbour of his swore he had spoke of Archbishop Laud, but my grandfather always denied. It seems my grandfather had the saltpetre farm, and some of his servants, when

he was at London, dug up this neighbour's dove-house, which so exasperated him that he made the information above mentioned. He was forced to change his name to Hall, and lies buried by that name; my grandmother and he died almost both at the same time, and left their children very young, so that they were not able to take care of the estate, which was at a distance and in the hands of servants, who made their markets of them, and for ought I could ever understand the family suffered more by removing into the north than if they had paid two such fines.

The Commissioners went from Hexham to Carlisle, where I found my old schoolmaster, Mr. Gordon, in custody. As I remember he was taken up as coming from Ireland, which was then altogether in Papist hands. I had the pleasure to get him released. At Penrith the Commissioners found Mr. Hooke, who had been chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth, and has been since an officer of distinction in the French army; I think a Brigadier or Major-General. I saw him at Versailles in 1715 in good credit.

Mr. Hooke had been seized at Whitehaven upon his landing from Ireland, and was a prisoner at Penrith when most of the Commissioners came thither on the Sunday. I say most of them, for Mr. Wharton, the Comptroller, would not travel on that day for fear of giving offence, as he said, to his father's godly tenants in the north. The Commissioners sent for Mr. Hooke, and as we were told when we came next day drank with him pretty freely and used many arguments to persuade him to leave King James' interests. His answer was that King James had given him his life when he had forfeited it in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, and that as long as it was a life it should be at his service.

From Penrith we went by Kendal, Lancaster, Preston and Warrington to Chester, where we met Major-General Trelawney, who was of the commission, but had not been with them till then, and the pleasure of seeing him and my good friend, Dr. Wainwright, made me not accept of the invitation my Lord Devonshire gave me to go along with him to Chatsworth. Our route led us to Shrewsbury, Stafford and Northampton, where the Commissioners parted, and Major-General Trelawney, Mr. Toll and I went with Mr. Wharton to Winchenden, from whence, after two or three days' stay, I got to Oxford. [*Margin:* In this progress of the Commissioners some very few officers were turned out who were suspected as no friends to the Revolution, the regiments were all reviewed and cleared and all vacancies filled up.]

The beginning of the next year the King was preparing for his expedition to Ireland. [*Margin:* The 13th of Feb., 1689 ] Mr. Crawford sent me word to the college that Mr. Blathwayt, Secretary at War, refused to go along with his Majesty, and advised me to lose no time, but come up and ask for the employment. I took post next morning for London, and as soon as

I came thither enquired of Mr. Blathwayt himself whether what I heard was true and that he desired to quit his place of Secretary at War: he told me he had, and that he wished me success in my application for it. I got his Majesty moved in my behalf, and in a little time had a message to attend him at Kensington, where I found him in the garden. He was pleased to tell me that he had made me Secretary at War, and gave me his hand to kiss and ordered me to get myself ready to go with him to Ireland. Before I returned to London from Kensington I was told that it was whispered in the Court as if Mr. Blathwayt was to continue in that employment, and I desired the Duke of Ormond to ask his Majesty if there was any ground for the report.

His answer was that Blathwayt must continue while Clarke is in Ireland: but by the favour of Lord Portland and methods which he used he continued after my return and to the King's death.

I waited upon his Majesty all along the way to Chester and Gayton-in-Worrall, where he lay some few nights till the wind seemed to turn, and then the King went on board at Hylake [Hoylake], and in two or three days landed at Belfast. The old Duke of Schonberg was quartered there and received his Majesty. In the time the King stayed at Belfast, among others the Presbyterian ministers presented a long address and claimed the King's protection and favour upon three accounts:—1st, for their numbers, as being the most numerous of all the Protestants of the north; 2nd, their services, especially at Londonderry; and 3rd, because his Majesty and his ancestors were all of their persuasion or to that effect. I remember when they read the second article, Mr. Walker, who had been Governor of Londonderry, and with whom I was talking, could not contain himself, but contradicted what they said with a good deal of warmth, though not loud enough for the King to hear. I can't omit in this place to take notice of the little regard the King showed to that very great man, the old Duke of Schonberg: all the countenance and confidence was in the Dutch General Officers, Count Solms, Mons. Scravemore [Scravenmoer], &c., insomuch that the Duke, who commanded next under his Majesty, was not so much as advised with about the march of the army, as he complained to me himself while we were at Belfast, and said if the King had supposed that he had not been entirely negligent in informing himself of the country that winter, he would have thought fit to have asked his opinion which was the most proper way for it to advance, and if he had, he should have told his Majesty the difficulties he might probably meet with in going by Newry, and that the better way was by Armagh and the Fewes, &c., but that he had never till then heard so much of what was intended as I had told him, for which he thanked me. Indeed I think that the Duke resented these slights and ill-usage so much that he was not unwilling to expose himself more than was really proper, in

hopes of putting an end to his uneasiness in the manner he did. And I am the more confirmed in this thought by some discourse I had with him two or three days before the battle of the Boyne, and what passed between his Grace and a friend of mine the very evening that preceded his death. His Grace was killed immediately after the head of the line passed the river and poor Mr. Walker of Londonderry with him. The King had immediate notice of it by some of the Duke's Aides-de-Camp, but did not seem to be concerned, whether it was that he really was not sorry or that his thoughts were employed about the regiment of Dutch Guards, whom he apprehended in some danger from a body of Irish horse that was coming to attack them, I will not determine.

The day before the battle, as the army marched up to the Boyne and drew up upon a rise that sloped towards the river as fast as they came to their ground, the King, after eating a little at Count Schonberg's, rode along the line, with intent to view the river he intended to pass and the enemy on the other side of it: he had not rode half a quarter of a mile before the Irish fired two field pieces, which we saw them place upon a rising ground almost over against us; I mean the place where the King had dined and we were dining, on the side of the Boyne. The company that followed the King rode up the rising ground from the river in some disorder, as we perceived, upon the firing these two pieces, which were immediately after pointed against the Horse Guards, who upon that were ordered to dismount that they might be the less exposed to the shot that flew pretty thick and had done mischief among the horses. Upon the movement made by the company that attended the King, the enemy gave a great shout, but we who were at the head of the Guards did not know that any of the shot had taken place, and indeed when we were told a little after that the King was wounded on the shoulder with a cannon ball, but not dangerously, I could not bring myself to believe that he was alive, and thought it was only given out in that manner to prevent the confusion which the telling his true condition would have occasioned. But to my great satisfaction, I saw him soon after riding towards that place where he received his hurt and so all along the line, but nobody except the Marshal Schonberg was allowed to ride with him, that he might not be again exposed to their shot from his quality being discovered by the number of his attendants. After his Majesty had viewed the ground and seen the several columns march into it he went to his tent, but so weak and fatigued that he was taken off of his horse, and I remember, as they were taking him off, he said that his hurt would be of one advantage to him, for he should not wear armour the next day. It is no wonder that in a divided nation as ours is that false reports should be industriously raised in order to lessen the credit of the other party, and therefore I have not been surprised to have heard it confidently affirmed



by those who did not love his person that the King was not wounded. We who were there knew the contrary, and that it was a pretty considerable time before he was perfectly cured.

Next morning, about eight or nine o'clock, our cannon began to fire upon two houses, with yards walled about, that stood on each side the road on the other side the Boyne just over against the ford where the Guards were to pass. The enemy had posted some foot in those houses, whose fire was silenced by our cannon, but as the Guards were got almost through the water they rose up from behind the walls and gave one fire upon them and ran away. Part of the troops marched directly on between these two houses up the hill, and there the Duke of Schonberg and Mr. Walker were killed, and news was brought of it to the King, who had not passed the river, but was looking upon the action and in great concern for his Blue Guards, who had marched to the left between the two houses and the river and were forming as fast as they could to receive a body of Irish horse that was coming towards them upon a full trot. The King was in a good deal of apprehension for them, there not being hedge nor ditch before them nor any of our horse to support them, and I was so near his Majesty as to hear him say softly to himself: "My poor Guards, my poor Guards," as the enemy were coming down upon them, but when he saw them stand their ground and fire by platoons, so that the horse were forced to run away in great disorder, he breathed out, as people use to do after holding their breath upon a fright or suspense, and said he had seen his Guards do that which he had never seen foot do in his life. He then immediately called for his horse and went over the river, near the place where the Guards had passed before, and that part of the army which was with the King got over there and lower towards Drogheda. The other part, commanded by Count Maynard [Mainhardt], afterwards Duke Schonberg, went over at Slane, where there was little opposition and in neither place much to do after the troops were passed, the Irish returning before them to Duleek, about two miles off. There some cornets of horse made a little stand by the advantage of a small river and a stone bridge, so that the cannon were sent for, and in the meantime we could see their foot making the best of their way, without any manner of order, towards Dublin. I think, too, that their horse quitted Duleek before the cannon came. Our horse and dragoons pursued them till dusk of the evening, but they got through a defile before we could come up with them and made another stand, so that our dragoons drew up in a line to face them and stayed for the cannon that were coming up. By this time it was just dark and the King went back to Duleek, where the foot were ordered to halt, and his Majesty lay that night in the Prince of Denmark's coach, for the baggage was not come up. We shifted as well as we could without tents or servants and slept very heartily upon the ground. In the night the enemy's horse

that faced our dragoons marched away, and we heard no more of them. We were told that King James went off with a good body of horse soon after the action began, for the General Officers had addressed to him the night before in a Council of War not to expose his person. He came to Dublin that evening and went to the castle to Lady Tyrconnel, and about four a clock next morning set out for Duncannon, and got thither by night. There he went aboard a ship that he found in the harbour and sailed for France, but was driven back either to Cork or Kinsale, and hearing that there were seventeen or nineteen French frigates in the other of these harbours he sent to them to convoy him, which they did, and by that means were prevented from scouring St. George's Channel, intercepting provisions and cutting off all correspondence with England, which were the services for which they were designed, so that if it had not been for this accident our army would have had great difficulty to subsist, the French being masters at sea by their success at Beachy fight [*margin*: Which happened about the time of that at the Boyne] and Ireland not in a condition to have supplied us with corn. A day or two after the battle of the Boyne the army marched and encamped at Finglass by Dublin, and from thence the King sent some of the General officers and myself to see what could be done to secure our provision ships, which were come from Carlingford to that harbour, for his Majesty had received an account of those seventeen or nineteen frigates before-mentioned that were designed to destroy them, and did not know that King James had taken them with him to France to secure him in his passage thither. The necessary orders were given to have gabards, &c., ready to be sunk in the entrance of the harbour if there should be occasion, and so we returned to the camp, but in my way back I made a visit to my old acquaintance, Dr. Lane of Merton College, whom I saw at a window as I passed through the city. He had been secretary to the Earl of Carlingford, who was killed at the Boyne, where the doctor himself had been wounded in the hand, but I heard nothing from him of his killing Duke Schonberg, which it seems he afterwards frequently bragged of in England. His condition was very low, having neither money nor friends. I gave him some assistance, and found him still at Dublin when I returned from the first siege of Limerick, and persuaded him to go to England and apply himself to his profession of the civil law, and I furnished him with a pass, &c., for which I had but an ill return from him. From Finglass the army marched southwards and came at last to Carrick, where the King stayed till he received an account from Major-General Kirke, who commanded before Waterford, that the place had capitulated and the garrison was to march out next day. Upon that his Majesty went thither and returned at night to Carrick, and next day went for Dublin in order to go to England, where he thought his presence necessary to quiet the apprehension

the nation were under upon the French threatening to land, for they hovered about the coast some time after the advantage they had over our fleet off of Beachy, but by that time his Majesty got to Dublin the fright was over and he did not pursue his voyage, but took a resolution of returning to the army, which he had left under the command of Count Solms. Before the King went from Carrick he made and signed a new regulation [*margin*: Dated the 26th July, 1690] about precedence of the officers of horse, foot and dragoons, whom he ordered to take place according to the dates of their commissions without regard to the ancientness of the corps to which they did belong, and this was to be without distinction of nations, being intended to favour the foreigners who were in the army. Some years afterwards I gave the Earl of Rochester a copy of that resolution to show the King, who at that time had a great mind that his favourite, the Earl of Albemarle, should command the Duke of Ormond, who was much the elder officer, because the Duke was only Captain of the second troop of Guards, and the Earl was put at the head of the first, in the room of the Earl of Scarborough. I happened to be the first person that told the Duke of Ormond of Lord Albemarle's pretence to command, having by chance, as I was going to dine with his Grace at the Cockpit, seen an order of that Lord's nailed up at the Horse Guards, whereby he gave general directions to all the troops. This dispute was carried to such a height by the King's inclination to favour Lord Albemarle that the Duke offered to lay down all his commissions, but it was thought too unpopular a thing to accept them, especially when he was right in the point for which he contended and was at last yielded to him. During this contest I remember one answer he gave the King, which showed a good deal of spirit. The King asked him why he had not desired to have the first troop of Guards when it was vacant. His Grace replied: I thought, Sir, if any privilege or command was annexed to the troop I might have had it without asking.

I am apt to believe that what I did in furnishing Lord Rochester with a copy of that order to show the King was some prejudice to me with him. [*Margin*: When the King resolved to go for England he sent the Earl of Portland to me to tell me that it would be for his service and that he desired I would stay behind him in Ireland. I told my Lord that I would wait upon his Majesty and give him my answer. I did accordingly and told him what Lord Portland had said to me. His Majesty repeated the same thing and urged me to stay to *help Count Solms*, I suppose he meant with English, which he could not speak. I told his Majesty that I came to Ireland to attend him and nobody else; that I had offered him my service when those refused to come with him whose business it was, and that I hoped he would let me wait upon him back. His Majesty said he remembered it very well and that I might be sure it should be the better for me. I still pressed

that I might go with him to England, and among other things told him that I should be forgot if I stayed there, but he was pleased to make me many gracious promises to incline me to remain in Ireland, which I consented to do at last, and continued there till the end of the war, but how well those promises were made good to me I have but too much cause to remember, for when I came to England after the Peace I found Mr. Ostall established in the employment which was promised me, and I was put off with a commission of Secretary at War in the King's absence, which I enjoyed ten years, which was all the King did for me as long as he lived.] After the King left Carrick, the army, under command of Count Solms, advanced to Gelden Bridge, and there his Majesty joined it again from Dublin and marched it to Limerick. In his march he received an account that the French regiments had left the place and were gone to Galway, which was very true, and they continued at Galway all the time the army lay before Limerick, and as soon as the siege was raised set sail for Brest and the Earl of Tyrconnel and Mons. Lauzun with them. Indeed the French did little or no service in Ireland, not having struck a stroke that I know of while they were there, for they retired from the Boyne very early in the day and marched by the way of Limerick to Galway, from whence they embarked for France, as is before mentioned. The ill-success at Limerick is well known to be owing to the want of ammunition, occasioned by Sarsfield's falling upon the artillery, &c., at Cullen, as it was coming up to the siege, so that after a fruitless attack of a breach, which we had not powder or shot to make larger, the King left the army and embarked at Duncannon for England, leaving Count Solms at the head of the troops and Lord Rumney, Sir Chas. Porter, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Mr. Coningsby, Paymaster of the army, Lords Justices of the kingdom. [*Margin*: Sir J. Jeffrey's commission for the government of Duncannon, ordered by the King at my request as he was going towards Duncannon.] The army marched from Limerick to Tipperary and there separated, Lieut.-General Douglas marching northwards with a part of it. At Tipperary there happened a dispute between Sir J. Lanier, Major-General Kirke and Mons. Tettau, a Danish Major-General, about signing the resolutions that were taken in a Council of War for disposing of the troops, Tettau pretending to sign before them, as being the elder officer. But Lanier and Kirke insisted upon their right of signing first, as being of the troops of the kingdom, which gave them rank before the officers of the Auxiliaries of the same commission. I was lame at this time and could not stir out of my tent, so was not at the Council of War, but Sir J. Lanier and Major-General Kirke came to me and told me what they had done, and desired I would let Lord Marlborough know it as soon as we should have notice of his arrival, that he might not give up a point which they had carried, and I accordingly sent my Lord an

account of it by the first express that went to him after we knew of his landing at Cork. I can't recollect at this distance of time where we were when we first heard of Lord Marlborough being before Cork, but I remember we marched to Cashell, and there Count Solms left the army under command of Mons. Ginckle, afterwards Earl of Athlone, and went for England, and as soon as Lord Marlborough's arrival was known Mons. Scrammore was detached with some troops to him at Cork, and I think we did not get to winter quarters at Kilkenny till we had news of the surrender of the place or very little before. At that siege the gallant Duke of Grafton lost his life by a musket shot as he was advancing towards the walls with Col. Granville, afterwards Lord Granville, and some more volunteers. I was told by Lord Inchiquin, who was also with him when he was killed and had the perusing of his papers after his death, that he found a most kind letter of the King's to him upon occasion of his behaviour in the sea fight off of Beachy, where he acted only as private Captain, though before the Revolution, if I am not mistaken, he had been Vice or Rear Admiral of England, and it is very probable, if he had lived, he would have made a great figure in our naval affairs.

We passed the winter of 1690 at Kilkenny and Dublin in making preparations for next summer's campaign. [*Margin :* And endeavouring to prevent the occasion for one by trying to persuade the Irish to submit, for which purpose we had several correspondences with them, but lest they should not be successful, Mons. Ginckle was as active as the season would let him, and by himself and those who commanded under him made several expeditions in the winter, both in the north and south of the kingdom: particularly he marched himself to Ross Castle, which he took, and then returned to Kilkenny and sent the detachment that had been with him into quarters. In his way to Ross Castle I accompanied him as far as Clonmell, but could not go further by reason of the country distemper, which was very severe upon me, and besides the General was very desirous that I should stay there to take care to hasten provisions, &c., to him, as I did, during his expedition. When I had pretty well recovered I went one day towards Carrick a shooting and designed to cross the river about the midway thither, where there was a wood on the other side that we expected would afford us game. But by the time we were come within less than half a quarter of a mile of the ford we were to go over we perceived a boat with provisions coming up the river and one of the persons who had been dragging of it making signs to us with his hand to come to him, but saying nothing. We beckoned and called to him to come to us to the highway, where we stopped upon his making signs to us, which he did, and upon our enquiring the reason of his signs he told us that there were about eighty of King James' men in the wood on the other side the water, who he believed would take the boat because they had made an offer

of doing it already. While we were talking three of the Rapparees, for they were no better, came down to the riverside and fired at us, calling us many ill names, but when we returned their shot they fell down upon their bellies and were silent. I suppose the noise of the guns alarmed the rest of them who were in the wood, for immediately about thirty or forty of them showed themselves at the edge of it, as coming down to the waterside to their companions. We made the boatmen drag on their boat as fast as they could, and remained where we were till they came to the place where the stream divided, by which means they were in security, and then we turned back towards Clonmell, having been providentially secured by the accident of meeting this boat from falling among those Rapparees, who gave no quarter at that time and were in the very wood in which we designed to shoot.]

When I came to Dublin I claimed the place of chief secretary to the government, which I said belonged to me, as I was Secretary at War. My claim was allowed and I had lodgings in the new buildings in the Castle, even with the cloisters and under the rooms of State, looking out upon the terrace walk, and there I fitted up a room for the Lords Justices to meet in and despatch their business. This employment I enjoyed all the while I was in Ireland, and executed by a deputy when I went into the field with the army. Before the campaign opened, the King sent for Sir John Lanier and Major-General Kirke away from Ireland, and so he did for Lieut.-General Douglas some time after, for the latter and the two first could never agree, and I was sometimes apprehensive that their animosities would have broke out into more than words, but nothing of that sort happened. They all three went into Flanders, and there soon ended their lives.

In their room the King sent over Lieut.-Gen. Mackay, Major-Gen. Talmash, and Mons. Ruvigny, a Major-General, afterwards Earl of Galway. I think they came to us when the army was before Ballymore; at least Mons. Ruvigny was there. Ballymore was soon taken and the army advanced to Athlone, where it met with great difficulties, for after the taking of the town on this side the water they were to pass the river over a ford that was guarded by the works of the town that is on the other, and all the Irish army was encamped at so small a distance behind that they might send what numbers of men they thought fit to oppose us, indeed it was apprehended that they had laid open the walls on the back of the town, and that instead of a garrison we should have had their army to have encountered when we got over the water if that was possible to be done, which was much doubted. This attempt was looked upon to be so hazardous that Mons. Ginckle ordered a guinea to be given to each of the eight hundred grenadiers who were picked out for the service, and many of them had horse armour for their security. The first day they were drawn out the Irish army had notice from a deserter, who swam the river at some distance

from the town, and marched down in such numbers that it was thought fit to defer the execution of the design, which the enemy took to be so difficult that they believed it entirely laid aside, but next day it was resumed with success and our men got over the river before the Irish were aware, and by that time Major-General Maxwell, who commanded that day in the place, was got from his house to the bridge, he was surrounded and taken prisoner, as he told me himself. In this action Major-General Mackay commanded the detachment that passed the river, and though from his great caution he was against the thing in the Council of War, yet no man exposed himself more freely when the resolution was taken. Major-General Talmash was a volunteer and carried over the water upon men's shoulders after the grenadiers had possessed themselves of the works.

When the Irish army saw Athlone was taken they marched to Aghrim, about ten miles on the road to Galway, and took a very strong camp with two bogs before it and a *tougher* or causeway between the bogs, over which those must pass who would attack them in the centre. There four of our regiments of foot were put into great disorder, but some of the horse got over and made a stand, while the most of the rest of the horse, being drawn to the left, attacked the enemy's right and made them give way, and together with those who were got over the bog in the centre pursued them as long as it was light. Their cannon and most of their baggage were taken and a great part of their tents left standing. In the beginning of this action St. Ruth, the French General who commanded, was killed by a cannon shot, and to his death the Irish attribute the success the English had that day. Indeed, considering the strength of the post and the inequality of the numbers—for the Irish were thirty thousand, as Lord Bellew, who was brought prisoner to Mons. Scravemore about four in the morning, when he and I were at breakfast in the field, told us, and the English army did not amount to eighteen thousand—it must be looked upon as a very great action. The Prince of Hesse distinguished himself that day and was wounded, and so did Lord Galway, Sir Fras. Compton, Sir H. Bellasis and Col. Wolsely, and the troops in general behaved themselves extremely well. I remember before the engagement that our apprehensions were more from the Irish horse than foot, but the contrary appeared in the battle. After some short stay the army advanced to Galway, which surrendered before any trenches were opened, upon articles, and then we marched over Banahar Bridge and so to Limerick, where there was so strong a garrison that we durst not break ground and make approaches to attack it, for they had at least as many foot in the place as we had before it, but it being too soon to go into winter quarters we battered and bombed it, and lay there in expectation of what might happen. The town was open to their horse on the Connaught side for a good while after we were encamped before it, but at last our horse got over the Shannon and between the town

and their horse, which put them upon capitulating, and they did it at a time when we could not have stayed there any longer, and had actually drawn off several of our cannon and mortars and sent them on board the artillery ships which lay in the Shannon. When they beat the *Chamade* the first thing they desired to know was whether they might be allowed to go and serve where they had a mind, which was consented to, and next day, as I remember, they sent out their demands in writing, but those being very large it was thought better to send them a draft of the terms we would grant them than to retrench and alter theirs. Accordingly articles were drawn up, and the Irish deputed six persons to treat with us upon them. When we met the first question Sir Toby Butler asked us was what we meant by the title, viz.: Articles granted by Lieut.-General Ginckle, Commander-in-Chief, &c., to all persons in the city of Limerick and in the Irish army that is in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork and Mayo, and other garrisons that are in their possession.

I answered that we meant to capitulate with and grant terms to those who were in a condition to oppose us. Sir Toby replied that if we meant to go no further there must be an end of the treaty, and Sarsfield added that he would lay his bones in those old walls rather than not take care of those who stuck by them all along, so the second article was explained to extend to *all such as are under their protection in the said counties*, which I mention the more particularly because those words, though first agreed to, were omitted by mistake in transcribing that copy of the articles which was signed and the mistake not found out till next day, when Mons. Ginckle's son was actually gone towards England with the original or a copy to be laid before their Majesties. This occasioned a great deal of trouble, for when we came into England Mons. Ginckle, Major-General Talmash and I either gave certificates or depositions of what passed, and that which was left out by mistake was granted the Irish under the Broad Seal of England, and as I take it by Act of Parliament in Ireland, for I sent over the very original draft of the Articles from whence the signed copy was made to Lord Chancellor Porter, in order to satisfy the Parliament there, where many were averse from doing the Irish that piece of justice and aspersed Lord Coningsby, who was one of the Justices that signed the Articles, as if by his means the Broad Seal had been obtained to give the Irish a favour that was never intended them at the time of the treaty, whereas in reality it was the first thing insisted upon by them and agreed to by us, and further I have reason to believe that if it had not been for that Lord, the General's son had been sent for back and the words that were left out been inserted. After we had gone over all the articles in a cursory manner the further consideration and finishing the agreement was referred till the Lords Justices Porter and Coningsby came from Dublin to the camp, which they were



desired to do, for the properties and civil rights of the Irish being to be settled by these Articles it was thought proper that they should be signed by the civil governors as well as the military, which they were on the 3rd of October, 1691, about ten a clock at night, and a gate of the town delivered immediately, for we were in great haste to get possession because the Irish expected a squadron of eighteen or twenty frigates from France, and we feared if it came before the town was delivered the Irish would have altered their minds, but it did not arrive in the Shannon till it was too late for them to change. It may appear very strange that a numerous garrison, not pressed by any want, should give up a town which nobody was in a condition to take from them at a time when those who lay before it had actually drawn off their cannon and were preparing to march away, and when that garrison did every day expect a squadron of ships to come to their relief if they had needed any, but when we reflect that the first thing insisted upon at the time they beat the *Chamade* was a liberty to go and serve where they would and that Sarsfield reckoned upon making himself considerable in France by bringing over such a body of troops, it will be easy to account for their surrender. [*Margin*: Luttrill's persuading the Irish not to go to France and the argument used by him for that purpose.] Besides, the Irish did not find themselves so assisted by France as they expected, and the French officers who were in the town were very weary of the service, so that *they first* proposed capitulating, as Sarsfield averred openly in the presence of the French Intendant, at the time of signing the Articles. It was very happy that the treaty was concluded as it was, for a very little time after Mons. Chateaurenau came into the Shannon with his squadron, and if he had not shown great regard to what had been agreed ashore, would undoubtedly have destroyed or taken all our ships with ammunition and provisions that lay there, as well as seven men-of-war, English and Dutch, that were with them, and could not get out of the river [*margin*: And therefore had orders to sink themselves to prevent their falling into their hands.] Upon the delivery of the town Major-General Talmash was left to command in it and the army marched into quarters. Mons. Ginckle and I went to Kilkenny, and after some short stay there to Dublin, from whence I wrote to Lord Rumney for their Majesties' leave to come to England, which his Lordship sent me, and on the 5th of December Mons. Ginckle and I left Ireland, and had so good a passage that we came to an anchor before it was dark that evening within a league of the bar of Chester, and landed next morning at Hylelake [Hoylake], very near the same place where I took shipping for Ireland about a year and a half before.

When I came away from Dublin I left a deputy to execute my employment of chief Secretary to the government, and he continued in the execution of it till a new Governor was sent over. From Chester Mons. Ginckle and I went in a Dutch

caleche of his to London and dined at Althorpe by the way with the then Lord Sunderland, who openly owned at dinner that he had given King James advice on purpose to ruin him, which some of the company often took notice of after.

I attended the King when I came to town and gave him an account of several things relating to the kingdom I was come from, and particularly acquainted him with the animosity that was between the English and Irish, which was but too much encouraged by some in authority. I gave his Majesty some instances, but begged to be excused from naming persons, which he was pleased to grant, though not very willingly. Before the King went that year to Flanders, which he did, as I remember, the 3rd of March, he was pleased to send Mons. Ginckle, now Lord Athlone, to me to tell me he would have me stay in England and be Secretary at War in his absence. My answer was that though this was not what I had reason to expect from his Majesty's promise to me before I went with him to Ireland and when I was there, yet if it was for his service I would submit to it when I had a commission for that employment. Lord Athlone replied that he did not know whether I was to have a commission or not. I answered that I would be no man's deputy, and that unless I had the King's commission I would not act; that it was not an employment of my seeking, and that I was very well contented to be quiet and would think no more of it. My Lord was not satisfied with my answer, but would oblige me to go with him to the King, whom I spoke to much to the same purpose, and said since his Majesty thought it for his service I was contented to act in that station, provided I had his commission, which was ordered me immediately, and I continued in that employment to his Majesty's death. I had the honour and pleasure for three summers to attend his excellent Queen, and had reason from her goodness to me to hope, if she had lived, that I might have been the better for her service, but she was snatched away from a nation that did not deserve such a blessing as to be governed by her. After her death, in the year 1695, I lost the best of mothers, whom God was pleased to take to himself the 27th of July.

Before King William's death I was desirous to retire from public business, and had bargained with a gentleman to sell him my place of Judge Advocate, but his Majesty died and the bargain was never completed, and upon Queen Anne's coming to the Crown I could not get leave to part with it, but was pressed very much to be Secretary to the Prince of Denmark, who was declared Lord High Admiral. I was truly very unwilling to enter into that service, my inclinations being extremely set upon a retreat, but my friends overruled me, and the May after Queen Anne came to the Crown I was made Secretary to the Prince and attended him at the Admiralty, as well as in his private affairs, and had the business of the Cinque Ports, whereof his Royal Highness was Warden, under my care, and also received his directions about the Marine

regiments. I had had the honour to be known to the Prince when King James was upon the throne and in the war of Ireland, where I had frequent opportunities of waiting upon him, and both then and when I was his secretary received many marks of his favourable acceptance of my services, but happening to be chose into Parliament in the year 1705 for East Loo in Cornwall, as I had been for Winchelsea in the first Parliament called by the Queen, I fell under his Highness' displeasure because I refused to promise to give my vote for Mr. Smyth to be Speaker, when he urged me to do it two or three days before the House met. The contest between Mr. Smyth and Mr. Bromley was very great, and the Court engaged warmly for the former, several of those who used to be very friendly to the latter going into Mr. Smyth's interest, which procured him the chair, and the morning of the election I received a message from the Prince by Mr. Nicholas, his treasurer, to tell me that I was dismissed from his service. While Mr. Nicholas was acquainting me with this in the Lobby of the House of Commons, a footman of the Prince's came to Mr. Nicholas and told him the Prince must speak with him immediately, before he went from me. He laid me under an obligation not to take notice of anything he had said to me from his Highness, believing that he was sent for in order to be forbid delivering his message. When he came to the Prince he was asked if he had spoke to me as he was directed; his answer was that he had, but withal had engaged me not to take any notice of it till his return, so that in effect he had not delivered his message, and begged his Highness to give him his orders to contradict what he had carried me. The Prince sat silent for some time, and then said since it was done it could not be helped, and after that I never saw his Highness, though I had several intimations before his death that my waiting upon him would not be unacceptable. But my offer to do it just after he put me out of his service being received very coldly, I then took a resolution never to go to him till he sent for me, and that was the answer I still made to those who would have had me go to St. James', and indeed I never did go near the Court until I was put into the commission of the Admiralty in December, 1710, and went to return my thanks to the Queen, who had been pleased to make me one of the commissioners without my asking or knowing of it till it was done. While I was in my attendance upon the Prince I began to build a house for myself at All Souls' College upon some ground belonging to it, and agreed that it should come to the Warden of that college after my life and be made part of his lodgings, upon condition that a part of what he then possessed should be turned to the use of the Fellows, who are much straitened for chambers. This house was almost finished at the time I was dismissed by the Prince, and having disposed of my patent of Judge Advocate to Mr. Byde of Ware Park about half a year before, I was now entirely my own master, and removed all my books and goods to Oxford, where I have enjoyed, thank God,

a great deal of quiet for many years, and I remember to have had so true a relish of liberty and being my own master that when I came to live there, I could hardly forbear writing some verses of Grotius to Scriverius over my chimney—

Nulli pendere temporis tributum  
Sed pro jure, suo diebus uti  
Ignaris Domini nec elocatis.

But I let it alone, not being fond of inscriptions.

The May following, 1706, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Pereyra and I went into Holland, and in our passage met with the news of the Duke of Marlborough's victory over the French at Ramillies, and when we got thither we found nothing but rejoicings for the unexpected success, and every day bringing accounts of some town or province submitting to the conqueror. The marks of these rejoicings were every day renewed, and indeed the French were so much stunned with the blow that some months passed before they durst venture to draw any of their troops out of the towns into which they had fled after that rout, and there is but too good reason to think that great art and industry was used by those who got immensely by the war to keep off a Peace, to which both Dutch and French were inclined, and might have been had upon very advantageous terms to the confederacy. But England was to be sacrificed to private gain. After some little time at the Hague we went to North Holland, and so to Amsterdam, Utrecht, Loo and Nimeghen, &c., and then back to Rotterdam, from whence an old yacht carried us in very ill weather to Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp, and from whence we went to Brussels, where General Churchill commanded. We lodged with him in the Hotel d'Orange and were entertained most kindly for about seven weeks, when we were forced to steal away before he was up in the morning, for his intention was to have kept us there till his return to England, and that we should have gone home together. While we were at Brussels we heard the language of those who came from the army; they were all in the same tone, that everything must be done for the Dutch to persuade them to go on with the war, and among other things I saw a letter from the Duke of Marlborough to his brother to tell him that he must not give any passes, though he was Governor of Brabant as well as Brussels, but let the Dutch field deputies do it because they accounted for the money paid for them to the States, and it went towards the carrying on of the war. From Brussels Mr. Bridges and I went to the blockade of Dendermond, and from thence to Ghent, Antwerp and Breda, to Rotterdam and the Hague, and the beginning of September to Brill, where we lay seventeen days for a wind, and were three days in one of the most violent storms that has been known in our passage to England, but it pleased God to bring us safe thither. While we lay at Brill we had the welcome news of the relief of Turin by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugène.

As soon as I got ashore I made what haste I could to Oxford,

and there remained for the most part when the Parliament did not sit, though sometimes I made little excursions to see my good friends Admiral Churchill and Mr. Hill, and twice or thrice in the company of the latter into the west, where we visited some of our old acquaintance and passed our time very agreeably. The 8th of May, 1710, I lost my true good friend, Admiral Churchill, whom I must always honour and lament, as I must the Rev. Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christchurch, who died the 14th of December that year. I met his body at Wickham, as I was going up to take my chair at the Board of Admiralty.

The death of these worthy men was followed by that of the Earl of Rochester, the 2nd of May after, in whom the nation had a great loss, and I such an one as is not to be repaired. His Lordship's character is too well known for me to say anything of him.

Upon his son's going up to the House of Lords, I succeeded him in the borough of Launceston in Cornwall. If my Lord had lived, it is reasonable to believe that the three or four last years of Queen Anne's reign would have passed more to her satisfaction and her people's than they did, and things received a different turn from what we find: but the nation did not deserve to have his life and that excellent princess's continued to them. [*Margin*: While I was in the Admiralty I had an opportunity of sending for some marble from Genoa, which I employed in the east end of the chapel of All Souls', and got 200*l.* from Mr. Portman for the painting over it, in which I think Mr. Thornhill excelled himself, but he had a mind to leave a mark of his skill in this University.]

The commission of the Admiralty being superseded soon after his present Majesty came into England, I retired to Oxford, and stayed there till May, 1715, but two honest gentlemen of my acquaintance having agreed to go to France, I joined myself to them and went to Paris, where and at Fontainebleau, &c., I passed two or three months very much to my satisfaction, and returned to England by Peronne, Cambray, Valenciennes, Tournay, Lisle, Ypres, Dunkirk and Calais. We saw the new canal to Mardyke, which the French had made to supply what they destroyed at Dunkirk upon the Peace, but it was not finished, and they had left off working upon it for some time before we came thither, but while we were there the Intendant, Mons. le Blanc, had orders to begin again, and he set men to work upon it. I met my old friend, Dr. Savage, at Paris, whither he was come from his seven or eight years' travels in Italy and Sicily, &c., and was much tempted by him to bear him company to Rome, which I am sorry I did not, having always had a desire to see the antiquities of that city, but I fancied myself too old to take such a ramble, though perhaps I should have got over that objection and gone along with him, but for a piece [of] ceremony with one of my fellow travellers, with whom I came from England. At Calais, as we were coming to England, we met Brigadier Preston, who

arrived the same day: he told us the first news of the Duke of Ormond's being gone from his house at Richmond, but nobody knew whither. Next morning, before we went on board the packet-boat, one of the Duke's servants came to me to desire my advice what he should do. I asked him what orders he had: his answer was, to go to Paris and expect further orders. I told him then he must go, and desired he would present my most humble service to his Grace, who by this discourse of his servant we supposed intended to come to France. I mention this the more particularly because of a malicious foolish story that was spread industriously at Oxford at the time I was chosen Parliament man for the University, that I was at Paris when notice came to the English gentlemen there that the Duke was coming, and that I went away from thence to avoid going out to meet him or seeing him when there. Had I had any difficulty in waiting upon the Duke of Ormond, it is not probable that I would have seen Lord Bolingbroke, with whom I was frequently, but it happened upon comparing times that I had actually left Paris some hours before the Duke left Richmond. Soon after I came ashore I went down to Oxford to attend Lord Arran's instalment in the theatre, the University having chosen him their Chancellor upon his brother's being attainted by Act of Parliament. His Lordship only stayed to dine at the Vice-Chancellor's at All Souls, and went that night out of town. Not long after Brigadier Pepper came to Oxford with some troops and orders to seize several persons named in a list, and the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gardiner, was required to assist him in searching for them and such others as the Brigadier should acquaint him. I think he met with but one of the persons in his list, Capt. Halsay, whom he carried away with him about the noon of the day he came in. He behaved himself very civilly the little time he was here, and never let his men go from their arms all the while they were in town, to prevent any disorders that might have happened. By something the Brigadier said to me, I had good grounds to believe that he was advised by some persons here to have taken me up, but he said he would be hanged first or to that effect. After he marched away, in some short time, there were soldiers quartered in Oxford, who were very rude and made everybody uneasy, but at last those who sent them were weary or ashamed of plaguing people who had not done anything to deserve it, and from whom there was no colour of danger, and so removed them.

My intentions being to live quietly and out of public business I stayed as much as I could at Oxford, which I confess grew less agreeable by the death of friends, among whom I must always remember Dr. Adams, Principal of Magdalen Hall, whom I can never enough lament. He died of the gout January 5th, 1715; my concern for him is still so fresh upon me that I don't care to think of him. In the year 1717 some business carried me to London, and while I was there Sir Wm. Whitlock died, who was one of the representatives for the

University, and I was chose in his place by the kindness of my friends, who sent me word of it when it was done. They did me the same honour and in the same manner the next Parliament, which was chose in March, 1722, when there was a struggle for another person, but Mr. Bromley and I had a great majority.

In March, 1723, I lost my poor cousin Cary, in the seventy-sixth year of her age; her death makes me very lonely, for she always, since I remember, used to live with my mother, who was her aunt. I buried her in St. Mary's Church, as she desired, and have put up a small remembrance of her upon the wall near her grave. Some months after poor Sir Wm. Gifford died and left me one of his executors, and I hope Mr. Rowney—who was the other—and I have discharged that trust to the satisfaction of his nephews and nieces, to whom he bequeathed what he had. He lies buried in S. Michael's Church in Oxford, and we got the consent of his heirs to put a monument over him. The 20th of April, 1726, my dear old friend, Mr. Edward Nicholas of Horsely, died at Bath, after a very long and painful illness; he was one of the oldest acquaintances I had, there having been a constant friendship between us for seven or eight and forty years. The 22nd of the same month Dr. Bernard Gardiner, Warden of All Souls', died, who was a great loss to me, and I think, to the College and University. On the 11th of June, 1727, my dearest friend, Mr. Richard Hill of Richmond, died in the 73rd year of his age, after a long weakness of mind and body, occasioned by several paralytic strokes. He was a most friendly valuable man, and had disposed of more money to his relations in his lifetime and a time of life when he was capable of enjoying it than anyone of the age we live in. I had the pleasure of a long intimacy with him, which the present King and Queen were pleased to take notice of when I had the honour to kiss their hands upon their accession to the Crown, and her Majesty particularly expressed the great value she had for him and that she should preserve for his memory. He ordered himself to be buried at Hawkstone in Shropshire, the seat of the family, where the several employments which he had gone through with great reputation are expressed, in an epitaph of his own making, upon a tomb which I persuaded him with much ado to set up for himself last year.

I think there are few so good men left behind.

Among many inconveniences of age, the outliving friends is not the least grievous; it is a taking away of comfort and assistance at a time one most needs them, and at this time of life new friendships are not easily made. This consideration should make one willing to leave a world which is robbed of what made the continuing in it any ways desirable.

The morning of the same day that Mr. Hill died, King George the First died at Osnabruck on his way to Hanover, and his son, King George the Second, was proclaimed at

London on the 15th of that month. The Parliament met the 27th and was prorogued the 17th of July: in the few days they sat they gave the King, for the charge of his civil government, at least 100,000*l.* per annum more than his father had, and settled a jointure upon the Queen of 100,000*l.* a year, which is much more than ever was given to any Queen of England. It is to be hoped that as the King has a larger civil list than any of his predecessors and is said to be a good manager, he will not come for supplies to pay his debts, as his father did, but will keep within bounds. In thirteen years that his father reigned he had above 1,800,000*l.* given him by Parliament, besides his 700,000*l.* a year, and it is said he has left a great debt, above 600,000*l.*: it is melancholy to consider how those vast sums have been disposed of, though too well known.

The 23rd of July, 1727, the Lord Viscount Harcourt was seized with an apoplexy and dead palsy just as he got into Sir Robert Walpole's house at Chelsea, and died the 29th at two in the morning. I attended him to his grave in Stanton Harcourt Church on the 4th of August, as I had his only son some few years ago. My Lord's pall was bore up by the Earls of Clarendon, Abingdon and Lichfield, Sir John D'Oiley, Sir Robert Walter, Sir Jonathan Cope, Sir Robert Jenkinson and myself. I forget who were bearers with me at his son's funeral. My Lord was one of the oldest acquaintances I had in the world. Bishop Fell brought us acquainted in the year 1677, when we were appointed to speak verses in the theatre at the Act of that year, but the Duke of Ormond being to come through Oxford in his way to Ireland, my Lord, then Mr. Harcourt, was one of the four reserved to speak to his Grace, as he did on the 6th of August, 1677, and had invited himself to dine with me that day this present year, 1727, in memory of our fifty years' acquaintance, but it pleased God to order it otherwise, and I have lost a very good friend. His public abilities are well known in both Houses of Parliament and Westminster Hall, as well as the Council Table. Life seems to serve for little but the melancholy part of putting down memorandums of the deaths of friends, and those, as Dr. Tillotson very truly says, are some of the evils and calamities of it that require the greatest consideration and a very great degree of patience to support us under them and enable us to bear them decently, for after all the pretences of philosophy and extirpation of passions, nature has formed us as we are, and hath planted in us strong inclinations and affections to our friends, and these affections are as naturally moved upon the loss of them, and pluck every string of our hearts as violently as extreme hunger and thirst do gnaw upon our stomachs, and whoever pretends to have a mighty affection for a thing and yet at the same time does pretend that he can contentedly and without any great sense or signification of pain bear the loss of it, does not talk like a philosopher but like an hypocrite,



and under a grave pretence of being wise, is in truth an ill-natured man. Publius Syrus's thought is pretty—*Homo toties moritur, quoties amittit suos.*

On the 18th of August this year, 1727, Mr. Bromley and I were again elected to represent the University without any opposition. It was a great honour the University did me, but much against my own inclinations, which were to be quiet and not obliged to run up to Parliament, whence no good is to be expected. We are and are like to be under a military government, for there does not seem to be any more prospect of disbanding troops than lessening the Public Debt.

When honest Mr. Rowney and I went together to Lord Harcourt's funeral, I little thought we should have lost him so soon, but it pleased God to take him away the 31st of this month of August in the same manner as Lord Harcourt died.

On the 13th of February, 1731-2, my dear friend and worthy fellow member for the University, Mr. Bromley, died very unexpectedly at his lodgings in New Bond Street. I knew nothing of his illness, but went to call upon him after church in the forenoon, and to my very great surprize was told by his servant at the door that he died at seven a clock that morning. I drove immediately to Lord Clarendon's in St. James' Square to propose my Lord Cornbury's offering himself to the University, which was agreed to and letters wrote accordingly. His Lordship was chose unanimously the 26th and took the oaths at the table in the House the 28th. This Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on the 17th of April, 1734, and on the 27th I received a letter from Dr. Holmes, Vice-Chancellor, that the day before I was unanimously elected with Lord Cornbury to serve for the University. This was the fifth time I was chose to represent that learned body, and was an honour I was very unwilling to receive, my age and the misfortune of losing my left eye, which continues in a painful and very ill condition, making me unfit to attend my duty in Parliament so constantly as I should, and indeed the pain which this eye gives me and the weakness of the other, which prevents in a great measure the satisfaction and amusement I used to have in reading, makes life very uncomfortable. Pray God prepare and fit me for another.

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OF  
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